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HISTORY OF THE KING'S OWN YORKSHIRE LIGHT INFANTRY



FROM 1755 TO 1914



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HISTORY OF THE KING'S OWN YORKSHIRE LIGHT INFANTRY



SIR JOHN MOORE

of British Army.
**History of the King's Own
Yorkshire Light
Infantry**

By Col. H. C. Wylly, C.B.


With 6 Illustrations & 12 Maps


VOLUME I

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CONTENTS

VOLUME I

	PAGE
CHAPTER I	The Raising of the 51st Regiment ... 1
CHAPTER II	The Rochefort Expedition : 1757 ... 12
CHAPTER III	The Opening of the Campaign in Germany 25
CHAPTER IV	The Battle of Minden : 1759 ... 38
CHAPTER V	The Campaign of 1760 : Corbach and Warburg 52
CHAPTER VI	The Battle of Kloster Kampen—The Hesse Expedition : August 1760 to April 1761 66
CHAPTER VII	The Campaigns of 1761, 1762, and 1763, and the End of the War ... 77
CHAPTER VIII	Ireland and Minorca : 1763—1783 ... 97
CHAPTER IX	England, Ireland, Gibraltar, Corsica and Elba : 1782—1797 123
CHAPTER X	Portugal, The Cape, India and Ceylon : 1797—1807... ... 164
CHAPTER XI	Corunna and Walcheren : 1808 and 1809... ... 189
CHAPTER XII	Fuentes D'Onor and Badajoz : 1811 ... 214
CHAPTER XIII	Ciudad Rodrigo, Salamanca and Burgos : 1812... ... 236
CHAPTER XIV	Vittoria, the Pyrenees, Nivelles and Orthes : 1813—1814 256
CHAPTER XV	Waterloo : 18th June, 1815 282
CHAPTER XVI	Years of Peace : 1816—1852 297
CHAPTER XVII	The Second Burma War : 1852—1854 312
CHAPTER XVIII	1854—1878 336
CHAPTER XIX	Afghanistan : 1878—1881 354

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Sir John Moore	.. .. .	<i>Frontispiece</i>	
Charles Watson Wentworth, K.G. (2nd Marquis of Rockingham)	.. .. .	<i>Facing page</i>	2
Sir George Savile, Bart.	.. .. .	” ”	4
List of Militia of the West Riding in Yorkshire (1697)	.. .. .	” ”	8
Captain William Baillie (51st Regiment)	.. .. .	” ”	46
Ensign Joseph Dyas (51st Light Infantry)	.. .. .	” ”	216

LIST OF MAPS

Rochefort Expedition (1757)	.. .. .	<i>Facing page</i>	12
Campaigns in Germany (1758-1763)	.. .. .	” ”	24
Battle of Minden (1759)	.. .. .	” ”	50
(Three Battle Plans in pocket on inside back cover)			
Corsica	.. .. .	” ”	162
Campaigns in The Peninsula and South of France	.. .. .	” ”	165
Battle of Salamanca (1812)	.. .. .	” ”	254
Battle of Vittoria (1813)	.. .. .	” ”	264
The Passage of Nivelles and Battle of Orthes	.. .. .	” ”	280
Battle of Waterloo (1815)	.. .. .	” ”	296

THE RAISING OF THE 51st REGIMENT

I

THE History of the British Army from the earliest times has been one continuous record of expansion and reduction, the establishment being hastily raised on the approach of war and as hurriedly reduced so soon as peace was in sight and the danger of hostilities had passed. Towards the close of Marlborough's wars the disbanding of regiments began even in anticipation of the conclusion of peace, more than 33,000 men were discharged, and the total force on the British establishment, inclusive of colonial garrisons, was soon reduced to less than 30,000 men. During the next five-and-thirty years the strength of our armed forces fluctuated; the estimates for 1714 provided for a British establishment of 22,000 men; the Jacobite rebellion of the year following caused the raising of twenty-one new regiments of horse and foot, the augmentation of the strength of existing corps, and the addition of a battalion to each Regiment of Guards. In 1716 the establishment of the army was 36,000, but a year later it was cut down to 17,000, while the estimates for 1719 provided for 12,000 soldiers only.

For some years there was no appreciable change, until the outbreak of the war of the Austrian Succession brought home to English statesmen the fact that our army was too weak for our growing needs, and the estimates for 1742 made provision for a force on the British establishment of 62,000 men. But at the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 many regiments were once more disbanded, the strength of all those remaining was reduced, and the British establishment was fixed at 30,000, of which two-thirds was for service at home, the remainder for the finding of garrisons for our colonial possessions.

Some few years prior to this date, two Regiments, enjoying precedence in the Army as 51st, had had a very brief existence. In 1739 and 1740 the forty-three Regiments of Infantry then on the establishment were increased by ten Regiments of Marines, numbered from 1 to 10, and these appear to have been accorded the precedence, *inter se*, of Regiments 44 to 53. Of these the 8th Regiment of Marines was raised in 1740 by Colonel Hanmore, and was commanded in 1742, 1747 and 1748 successively by Colonels Duncombe, Lord George Beauclerk and Jordan. This corps was disbanded in 1748. Then in 1742 a Colonel Richbell raised in Ireland a Regiment of Foot which also appears to have taken precedence as the 51st,

though possibly for only a very brief period since it also was disbanded in 1748.

But it was soon evident to all men that the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was really little better than an armed truce ; before the ink was dry on the Treaty, England and France, though nominally at peace in Europe, were quarrelling desperately with one another in America and India ; Ireland too was in a state of grave unrest ; so that it cannot be said that the English government was over-cautious in taking measures for the national security, when, in 1755, the number of soldiers proposed for the British establishment of the army was 34,000, with an additional 13,000 for the Colonies.

It was, however, almost at once felt that these measures were not sufficient for the danger that threatened, for the war that it now seemed certain England would have to sustain in Europe, Asia and America ; and the order went forth that ten new regiments of Foot, to be numbered from the 52nd to the 61st inclusive, should at once be raised.

At this date—the end of 1755—there was a 50th and a 51st Regiment already in existence, known, as was then universally the custom, by the names of their proprietary Colonels, Major-
1755 Generals Shirley and Sir William Pepperell. These were not the first regiments for the existence of which these two colonial gentlemen had been responsible. Pepperell had, on the 7th February, 1745, been commissioned to raise a Regiment for service at Cape Breton, which appears, from an old Manuscript Book preserved at the War Office, to have been known as the 51st, but this was disbanded on the 16th May, 1749.¹

Sir William Pepperell was then again directed, as was General Shirley, whose original corps had equally suffered disbandment, to raise a Regiment of Foot “for the service and defence of our Provinces of North America”—two regiments of ten companies each of four Sergeants, four Corporals, two Drummers and 100 effective Private Men ; and they were also authorized “to raise so many Volunteers in any of our Provinces in America” ; the note is added —“the Colonels not being in England.” The date of this order is the 7th October, 1754.²

These two Regiments had but a very brief existence, for both were concerned in the surrender to the French of Fort Oswego in
1756 North America, and were thereupon disbanded—the date of the disbandment of Sir William Pepperell’s Regiment, then numbered the 51st, being the 24th December, 1756. This corps consequently was in existence just sufficiently long a time to

¹ “*Journals of the House of Commons.*” Vol. 26.

² *P.R.O. W.O.* 26/23.



CHARLES WATSON WENTWORTH,
2ND MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM, K.G.

THE RAISING OF THE 51ST REGIMENT

cause the new Regiment ordered to be raised in 1755 to be initially numbered 53 instead of 51—the number by which for 125 years it was to be known and honoured.

The officer appointed to raise the new regiment—the 53rd in order of precedence—was Colonel Robert Napier of the 2nd Foot. Colonel Napier had entered the army as ensign on the 9th May, 1722, became lieutenant on 11th October, 1728 (another date given is 19th May, 1730), Captain-Lieutenant 23rd January, 1736, Captain 21st January, 1738, was promoted Lieutenant-Colonel in 1745 and Colonel on the 25th December, 1746. The date of his majority is wanting. On the 19th December, 1755, he was appointed Colonel of the 53rd and charged with the duty of raising that corps. He became Major-General on 3rd September, 1756, and on the 22nd April, 1757, was transferred to the Colonelcy of the 12th Foot, being promoted Lieutenant-General on the 4th April, 1759. He had served in Flanders in 1742 as Deputy Quartermaster-General and was present at the battles of Dettingen and Fontenoy. He died in London, in Albemarle Street, on the 23rd November, 1766.

The "Letter of Service" authorising the raising of the Regiment runs as follows :—¹

*Order for Raising
a Regiment of
Foot under the
Command of
Colonel Robert
Napier.*

*To our Trusty
and Well-beloved
Robert Napier
Esquire, Colonel of
our 53rd Regi-
ment of Foot to be
forthwith raised,
or to the Officer
Appointed to
raise Men for our
Said Regiment.*

" George R.

These are to authorize you by beat of drum or otherwise to raise men in any county or part of our Kingdom of Great Britain for a Regiment of Foot under your Command, which is to consist of Ten Companies of Three Sergeants, Three Corporals, Two Drummers and Seventy Effective Private Men, in each Company besides Commission Officers, and all Magistrates, Justices of the Peace, Constables, and other our Civil Officers whom it may concern, are hereby required to be assisting unto you in providing Quarters, Impressing Carriages, and otherwise as there shall be Occasion. Given at our Court at St. James' this 7th day of January, 1756, in the 29th Year of our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command.

Barrington."

Then under date of the 21st January, 1756, orders were issued to "Colonel Jordan of the 15th Regiment of Foot to turn over the two additional companies of his Regiment to the 53rd Regiment commanded by Colonel Robert Napier with

¹ P.R.O. W.O. 26/23.

THE HISTORY OF THE K.O.Y.L.I.

Captains—Hildebrand Oakes.¹

Robert Montgomery.

Lieutenants—Andrew De la Cour.

Peter Cartwright.¹

Ensigns—Benjamin Dodd.

Sinclair.

8 Sergeants.

8 Corporals.

4 Drummers.

40 Men."

A like order was issued to "*Major-General Stuart, Colonel of the 37th Regiment of Foot, to turn over the two additional Companies of his Regiment to the 53rd Regiment (Colonel Napier's) and the 60th Regiment (Colonel Anstruther's).*

Colonel Napier's: Lieutenant Lord Colvill.

4 Sergeants.

4 Corporals.

2 Drummers.

20 Men.

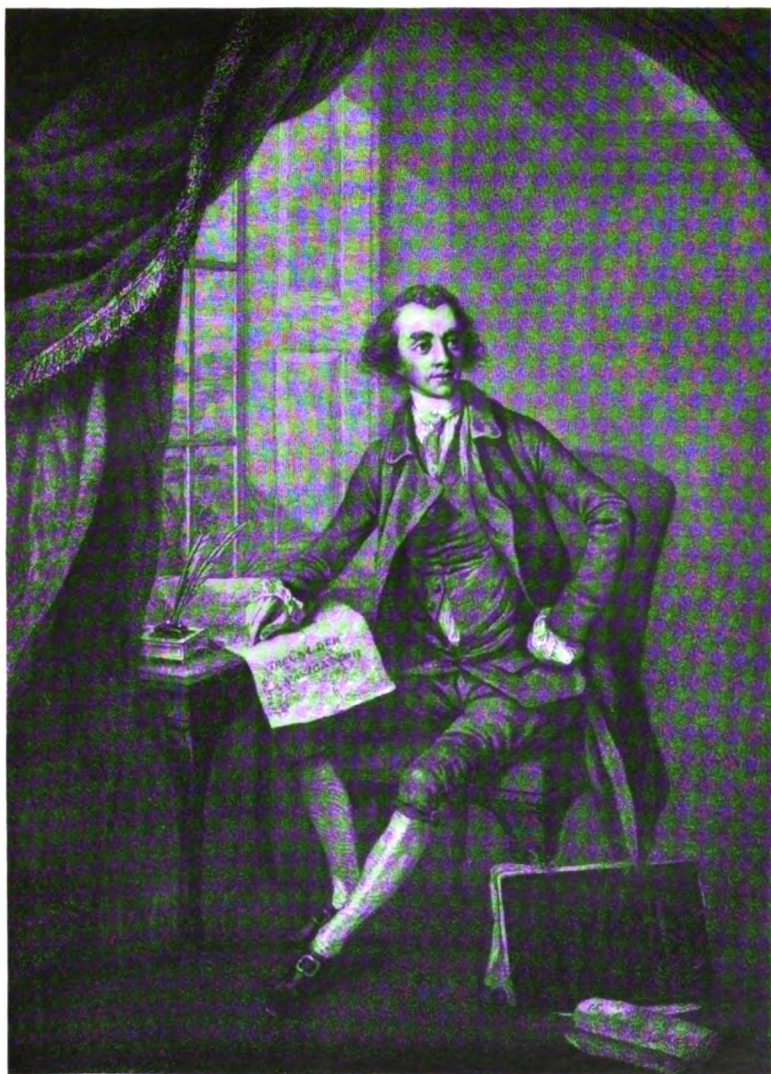
Besides one Sergeant and one Corporal to each of those Regiments."

A further order of the same date directed that "*the above be mustered in our 53rd Regiment of Foot by their present Commissions in Colonel Jordan's and Major-General Stuart's Regiments, and take command, and rank in the said 53rd Regiment according to their rank in the army.*"

The first list extant of the officers of Colonel Napier's Regiment is to be found in the Army List for 1756 and is as follows: their former regiments have, where they can be traced, been added.

Colonel Robert Napier	..	19 Dec., 1755	2nd Foot.
Lt.-Colonel Thomas Buck	..	20 "	37th Foot.
Major Noel Furye	..	16 "	13th Foot.
Captain Richard Montgomery	..	8 Oct.,	15th Foot.
" Hildebrand Oakes	..	3 Nov.,	23rd Foot.
" John Blair	..	26 Dec.	27th Foot.
" Nehemiah Donellan	..	27 "	34th Foot.
" William Martin	..	28 "	19th Foot.
" William Baillie	..	29 "	13th Foot.
" John Walker	..	30 "	13th Foot.
Capt.-Lieut. William Wade	..	25 "	3rd D. G.'s.
Lieutenant Andrew De la Cour	..	3 Oct.,	15th Foot.
" Lord Colvill	..	30 "	
" Peter Cartwright	..	12 Nov.,	3rd Foot.

¹ *It will be seen from the regimental list that these two officers did not belong to the 15th: possibly they were merely attached pending appointment.*



SIR GEORGE SAVILE, BART.

THE RAISING OF THE 51ST REGIMENT

Lieutenant	(John) Baldwin	..	25	Dec.,	1755	
"	Archibald Campbell	..	27	"	"	Half Pay
"	Robert Bissett	..	31	"	"	42nd Foot (?)
"	Alexander Hamilton	..	1	Jan.,	1756	Half-Pay.
"	Richard Brown	..	2	"	"	29th Foot.
"	Arthur St. Clair	..	3	"	"	
"	William Roy	..	4	"	"	
Ensign	Benjamin Dodd..	..	30	Oct.,	1755	15th Foot (?)
"	(Robert) Sinclair	..	31	"	"	15th Foot (?)
"	Abraham Hill	..	24	Dec.,	"	
"	John Widdows	..	25	"	"	
"	Nicholas Cotterell	..	28	"	"	
"	Richard Warburton	..	3	Jan.,	1756	
"	Thomas Butterfield	..	4	"	"	
"	Thomas Green	..	5	"	"	
"	Jonathan Hall	..	20	March	"	

Chaplain :—The Rev. Thomas Maddock, 19 Feb., 1756.

Adjutant —Ensign John Widdows from Sergt.-Major 37th Foot.

Paymaster :—Captain William Baillie.

Quartermaster : Lieut. Peter Cartwright.

Surgeon : Francis Brough, 26 Jan., 1756.

Agent :—Mr. Adair, Pall Mall.

The facings of the Regiment were to be sea-green, which had been the colour of those of the 2nd Foot, Colonel Napier's former Regiment ; and the Headquarters of the 53rd was, at any rate at first, established at Exeter, as appears from an order dated War Office, 28th January, 1756, which states that " It is His Majesty's pleasure that you cause the 53rd Regiment of Foot under your Command to be quartered at Exeter until further order."

Recruiting for the new regiments, and for increasing the strength of the army generally, was now tolerably brisk all over the country, and in order to further it warrants were issued to the Lords-Lieutenant of counties, with whom were associated county members and other leading persons, who were directed to use every endeavour in their power to raise men. Among those to whom warrants were addressed for recruiting Colonel Napier's Regiment were the Marquis of Rockingham and Sir George Savile, Bart., the date being the 27th December, 1755.

The Marquis of Rockingham had not long succeeded to the title, and was Lord Lieutenant of the West Riding of Yorkshire from the 18th July, 1751 to 1762 and again from 12th September, 1765 to 1782, and earlier in the year—on the 27th February—he had been appointed Vice-Admiral of the County of York, an office which in more ancient times was mainly concerned with the salvage of wrecks

upon the coast and the punishment of native and foreign pirates. He died on 1st July, 1782. The Earl of Huntingdon was Lord Lieutenant in 1763.

Lord Downes' Regiment of Militia of the West Riding was formed on the 29th June, 1759, and was first embodied in September of that year by order of Viscount Barrington, dated War Office, 6th September, 1759, addressed to Charles, Marquis of Rockingham, Lord Lieutenant of the West Riding of the County of York. It was disembodied by an order dated Whitehall, 12th December, 1762, signed by Lord Egremont.

Lord Downes' Regiment, on the reorganization of the Militia of the West Riding by which it was reduced from three to two Regiments, supplied men for the 1st or Southern Regiment of Militia of the West Riding which was formed on 4th November, 1763, with Colonel Sir George Savile, Bt., M.P., as Colonel. The 1st West Yorkshire Militia eventually became the 3rd Battalion K.O.Y.L.I.

Thus the Marquis of Rockingham and Sir George Savile, who were both concerned in the raising of the 51st (53rd) or 1st Battalion K.O.Y.L.I. in 1755, were also concerned with raising the Militia battalion of the Regiment in 1759 and 1763.

No very special attention appears to have been paid to the Warrants until the 16th March, 1756, on which date a public meeting was called in Leeds, incited no doubt by the presence of the 53rd Regiment in the town. Early in the year the Regiment seems to have moved from Exeter, for there is an order in existence, dated the 23rd February, 1756, directing it to proceed from Basingstoke to Leeds, the route laid down being *via*, "Ockingham, Watlington, Ailsbury, Newport-Pagnal, Northampton, Harborough, Leicester, Loughborough, Nottingham, Mansfield, Bligh, Bautree, Harworth, Doncaster and Wakefield," halting as usual on Sundays and one day each week, "as the commanding officer shall see occasion." That the 53rd must have reached Leeds early in March seems clear from an order, emanating from the War Office and dated the 6th March, directing the Officer Commanding Colonel Napier's Regiment of Foot at Leeds to supply "a Guard to march to Wakefield and receive from the Goaler (*sic*) there, John Wadsworth, a deserter from Major-General Folliott's Regiment, and Convey him from Regiment to Regiment to Edinburgh."

The *Public Advertiser* of the 24th March, gives an account of the meeting held at Leeds on the 16th, at which all present pledged themselves to use every exertion to provide His Majesty with a Regiment which in point of numbers and the character of its soldiers should be worthy of the County, and adds: "Great zeal and spirit was shown by all on the occasion, and such numbers of men have

THE RAISING OF THE 51ST REGIMENT

already been enlisted that it is not doubted that the Regiment will be full in a short time. Very great advantage is found from the gentlemen in the County personally assisting the recruiting parties ; and it was the general sense of all present that the continuing such methods would be the most effectual means of attaining the intended purpose of speedily completing the Regiment."

Another letter issuing at this time from the War Office—the date is the 11th March—is of interest in connection with recruiting. It is addressed to "Major-General Napier or the officer commanding the 53rd Regiment of Foot at Leeds and for the County of York," and runs as under :—

" Sir,

The High Sheriff for the County of York being required in pursuance of the 'Act for the speedy and effectual Recruiting of His Majesty's Land Forces and Marines' to issue Precepts to summon the Commissioners Appointed for executing the said Act ; I am commanded to signify to you, it is His Majesty's Pleasure that you take care the meetings of the said Commissioners be punctually attended, for which purpose you will direct Officers belonging to the 53rd Regiment of Foot under your Command to Inform themselves of the Times and Places of the Meetings of the several Commissioners, there and then to receive such Impress'd men as the Commissioners and your Officer or Officers shall judge to be such, as are intended to be Entertained as Soldiers in His Majesty's Service.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,
Barrington."

The stay of the Regiment at Leeds was not greatly prolonged. On the 6th April, 1756, orders were received by the Commanding Officer to "*cause the several companies belonging to the 53rd Regiment under your Command to march from their present quarters (as soon as you shall think it convenient) to the City of York and Liberty of St. Peter, where they are to remain until further orders.*"

The Regiment would appear, however, to have been still at Leeds on the 16th April, since on that day as on the 15th it was called upon to provide escorts for two deserters from the 37th Foot for conveyance to Rochester.

By this time Napier's was apparently recruited up to its establishment, for there is a letter from Lord Barrington dated 12th April to the Commanding Officer, saying : "*The 53rd Regiment of Foot under your Command being Compleat, it is His Majesty's pleasure, your Officers do attend the Meetings of the Commissioners and Receive and Secure such Impress'd Men as they shall approve for the Marines ;*

and you or your Officers are to acquaint the Secretary of the Admiralty with their Proceedings from time to time who will take Care the subsistence and other charges of such Impress'd Men be repaid your Regiment. . . ."

The next letter of interest to be received runs as follows :—

"George R."

Warrant for empowering the Colonels of the Ten Regiments of Foot to make assignments of the Off Rngs. from the 25th December, 1755, to the 5th July, 1756 (sic)

"Whereas we have thought fit to order Ten Regiments of Foot to be forthwith raised under the command of the Colonels whose names are respectively set down in the margin hereof, and that each Regiment do consist of Ten Companies of Three Sergeants, Three Corporals, Two Drummers and Seventy Effective Private Men in each Company besides Commission Officers and the said Colonels having humbly represented unto us that in order to furnish the Non-Commission Officers and Private Men of our said Regiments with swords, leather Accoutrements and other species of Cloathing and to defray the charge thereof It will be necessary that the Assignments of the Off Reckonings of our said Regiments should be carried out from the 25th of December, 1755, being the commencement of their Establishment to the 5th July, 1757 (sic) which thinking reasonable are hereby pleased to grant.

"Our Will and Pleasure therefore is that the said Ten Colonels do forthwith proceed to make Assignments of the Off Reckonings of the Non-Commission Officers and Private Men of our said Regiments, from the said 25th of December, 1755, to the 5th July, 1757 (sic) for the purposes aforesaid.

"And of this our Pleasure the General Officers appointed by us to have the care and inspection of the Cloathing of our Army as well as the Colonels Commanding our said Regiments, and all others whom it may concern are to take notice and govern themselves accordingly, And for so doing this shall be to them and to all others whom it may concern a sufficient Warrant and Direction. Given at our Court at St. James' this 14th day of April, 1756, in the twenty-ninth Year of our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command,
Barrington."

Regiments.

* * *

Major-General
Napier's.

* * *

1697.

A List of the Militia of the West Riding in Yorkshire.

The Duke of Leeds, Lord-Lieut.

OFFICERS' NAMES.			No. of Men.
Lord Marquis of Carmarthen	..	Coll.	
John Peckett, Gent.	.. ..	Capt. Lieut.	
Joseph Kinger, Gent.	.. ..	Ens.	
Wm. Roundell, Esq.	.. ..	Lt. Coll., dead	
Roger Wynn, Gent.	.. ..	Lieut.	
Thos. Scott, Gent.	.. ..	Ens.	
Robert Waller, Esq.	.. ..	Major	
Ambrose Girdler, Gent.	.. ..	Lieut.	
Mr. — Lawn (gone away)	.. ..	Ens.	
Richard Writ, Esq.	.. ..	1st Capt.	
Tho. Maie (?) Gent.	.. ..	Lieut.	
Oswald Buckle, Gent.	.. ..	Ens.	
Thos. Thomlinson, Gent.	.. ..	2nd Capt.	
Richard Lambert	.. ..	Lieut., dead	
— Richardson	.. ..	Ens.	
Wm. Thompson, Gent.	.. ..	3rd Capt., dead	
Edw. Baldock, Gent.	.. ..	Lieut.	
John Blith, Gent.	.. ..	Ens.	
Wm. Heseltine, Gent.	.. ..	4th Capt.	
Benjamin Mason, Gent.	.. ..	Lieut.	
John Wise, Gent.	.. ..	Ens.	
7 Companies	.. ..		520

“ This is the City of Yorke Regiment, four Companies whereof are raised in the City, and three in the Ayncitty, and increase and decrease, according to the numbers of the inhabitants.”

THE RAISING OF THE 51ST REGIMENT

On the 20th April the Regiment marched to York where it was billeted on the citizens, but its stay was a very brief one, since five days later it was ordered to march to Nottingham in two divisions, the first starting on Tuesday, June 29th and the second on Wednesday, June 30th. The route followed was by Sherborne, Doncaster, Bligh, Bautree, Harworth and Mansfield. On its arrival at Nottingham the first division found orders awaiting it to move to Northampton, and proceeded thither on 5th July, marching by Loughborough, Harborough and Leicester and reaching its destination on the 8th. The second division being one day's march in rear received the new order on arrival at Mansfield on July 3rd, being directed "(notwithstanding any former order to the contrary) to march thence on the 5th to Northampton," the route and dates given reading "July 5th—Derby, 6th—Loughborough, 7th—Leicester, 8th—Halt, 9th—Harborough, 10th—Northampton."

The Regiment did not remain more than a very few days at Northampton, for on July 15th it was ordered to march thence in three divisions, moving on the 19th, 20th and 21st July respectively, and the destinations being Fareham, Fishfield and Wickham. The route to be followed was *via* Stony Stratford, Aylesbury, Chipping Wincomb, Ockingham, Alton and Petersfield. Fareham would appear to have been the headquarters of the Regiment, and it was while here that, on the 17th September, Lieutenant-General Skelton was ordered to "draw together and pass in review Major-General Napier's and Colonel Lambton's¹ Regiments." General Skelton's Inspection Report is dated 25th September, 1756, and from it the following interesting details are taken.

The strength of the Regiment was 717 men. The nationality of the officers was as follows: twelve English, ten Scotch, six Irish and "no foreigners." The names of the officers differ slightly from those contained in the Army List for 1756, thus Abraham Hill appears as Archibald Hill, Cotterell becomes Collierill, Warburton is set down as Warberton, St. Clair as Sinclair; Baldwin, John, Captain-Lieutenant, had on the 26th August, succeeded Wade who obtained his company on the 22nd August, exchanging then to the 36th Foot. An ensigncy and the quartermastership were vacant. The Colonel (Napier), Martin, Roy and Maddock, the chaplain, were not present at the Inspection.

The Report states that the arms, accoutrements and clothing are "wanting to some extent," but are stated to be in store in London; those in possession are all good. The officers are "properly armed, ready in Exercise, Salute well, are attentive to Duty," and their "clothing is good." The men are "not tall but strong and well

¹ Then the 54th Foot.

THE RAISING OF THE 51ST REGIMENT

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¹ Then the 54th Foot.

Limb'd—Grenadiers a good size and well prop'd." The non-commission officers "did their duty." The Sergeants are stated to "have sashes." No exercise was performed, but the men went through the whole of the "firings" very well, "formed square and wheeled up on centre well." The arms were clean and new and the Colours new and according to the Regulation. The whole Regiment had new swords; the accoutrements were buff—new, clean and well put on. The clothing was "good," but "the Breeches something worn." The men had "good black and white Linnen Spatter Dashes."

The final remark is as follows: "It's a good Regiment and the Officers seem to have greatly exerted themselves in bringing this New Corps into so good Order."

Within a few weeks Napier's seems to have made a fresh move, for by the 13th October we find it in Portsmouth, eight companies being quartered in the barracks and the remaining two occupying billets in the town.

It was while quartered here that orders, dated the 25th January, 1757, were issued by Lord Barrington directing the final disposal of the remaining men of Shirley's and Pepperrell's Regiments, the 50th and 51st. As has already been stated the order for the disbandment of Pepperrell's was dated the 24th December, 1756, but a further instruction seems to have been required to provide for the disposal of such men of the 50th and 51st as were not in Fort Oswego when it surrendered to the French, or who, having become prisoners of war, had been exchanged and were now awaiting disposal at Totnes, or having been brought from North America "on board a French ship in which they were embarked for old France," were held ready for exchange "for an equal number of French officers and men prisoners of war." The order directs that the officers were to be placed "on half pay as vacancies should happen, at least such of them as should be thought fit for further service," while the non-commission officers and private men "of our said 50th and 51st Regiments be incorporated and annexed to such regiments of foot as we may think proper to send to North America." When all these arrangements were concluded "we are pleased to order the establishment for the said 50th and 51st Regiments of Foot shall cease from the 25th December, 1756, inclusive."

Thus the 51st Regiment raised by Sir William Pepperrell virtually ceased to exist, but some few weeks were still to elapse before Napier's Regiment inherited its number.

At Portsmouth the Regiment remained until the 12th May, 1757, when it was ordered to move into Kent; it marched on the 23rd

THE RAISING OF THE 51ST REGIMENT

in two divisions by Petersfield, Godalming, Guildford, Epsom and Ewell, Croydon and Bromley, and was thus distributed—five companies at Gravesend, Northfleet and Chalk and five at Dartford and Crayford, occupying their new stations on the 30th and 31st May.

*This order seems to contain the first mention of the 53rd as the 51st.*¹

Prior, however, to leaving Portsmouth Major-General Robert Napier had severed his connection with the Regiment on being transferred to the Colonelcy of the 12th Foot. He was succeeded, on the 22nd April, 1757, by Colonel the Hon. Thomas Brudenell, who, like his predecessor in command, came from the 2nd Queens.

Colonel Brudenell seems to have accompanied his Regiment on the march from Portsmouth, for in a letter dated the 11th May and addressed to him by name, he was ordered to provide the Regiment when camping with a surgeon's mate, whose pay was fixed at £7 10s. a month, so that "the duty of the hospital is not neglected for want of hands"; while as soon as the site of the camp was known proper hospitals were to be provided in houses selected "in the towns and villages nearest to the encampment."

On the 25th May the authorities directed that Divine Service was to be regularly performed, and Colonel Brudenell was instructed to call the attention of the regimental chaplain to his frequent and protracted absences; but the Rev. Thomas Maddock was to be informed that he might "find a sufficient Deputy for that purpose."

The stay of the Regiment in these quarters was a very short one, and only a very few letters seem extant relating to this period. The first, of the 26th May, is addressed to the Commanding Officer of the Companies of Colonel Brudenell's Regiment of Foot on arrival at Dartford, and directs him "to take over two deserters of Lord Robert Manners' Regiment from Lieutenant Lloyd, Royal Regiment of Artillery, and convey them to Dover."

On the 7th June, Colonel Brudenell was informed that "Warrants having been issued out for Bas and Baggage money" for his regiment ordered to encamp. . . . "It is His Majesty's pleasure that you do take care that proper Bas and Baggage horses be forthwith provided."

Two days later an order was issued that the companies at Gravesend, Northfleet and Chalk were to be quartered at the two first-named places only; and on the 21st June, the reason for the order of the 7th June became apparent, for Colonel Brudenell learnt that "It is His Majesty's pleasure that you cause the Ten Companies of the 51st Regiment of Foot under your command to assemble on Monday, the 27th inst. and march into and encamp within the lines encompassing the Dock at Chatham."²

¹ W.O. 5/44.

² The above letters are all at the Public Record Office in W.O. 5/44.

THE ROCHEFORT EXPEDITION. 1757

II

ENGLAND had actually been at war with France since the 18th May, 1756, and so far as the operations had gone they had hardly resulted in our favour. We had suffered defeats in America, strong places had been wrested from us in Europe, in India our forces had been able to do little more than hold their own; but with the advent of Pitt to power more energetic measures were adopted for the conduct of the war. At the end of 1756 estimates were presented to Parliament for the raising of an equal number of regiments to those which six years previously had been disbanded, additions were made to some of our cavalry regiments, and four battalions of Foot were recruited for service in America. Then early in 1757 fifteen regiments of the Line were authorized to raise each a second battalion, while a beginning was made with the raising of regiments recruited in the Highlands of Scotland. These measures as they bore fruit permitted of substantial reinforcements being sent to America, of responding to the appeals for help which reached Pitt from the East and West Indies, and of initiating those descents upon the French coast which have aroused so much criticism of Pitt as a war Minister.

It must be admitted that these raids on the French coast were seldom profitable in the sense that they yielded important military results; but that was rather due to the weakness of the instruments chosen for their execution, to scanty knowledge in our leading naval and military men of the proper conduct of amphibious operations, than to any real defect in the military policy of which they formed a part. We possessed at that date no great strategists among our own people to whom Pitt could turn for advice, and it was surely only natural that he should listen to Frederick of Prussia, with whom we were now allied, who was deservedly regarded as the greatest soldier of the age, and who *repeatedly* urged these raids upon the attention of our War Minister, and bore ungrudging testimony to their usefulness in diverting attention from Frederick's own operations and in preventing reinforcements reaching the armies by which he was opposed.

Some time during the year 1756 Frederick of Prussia had urged that England should raise and pay for the upkeep of an army of German auxiliaries to safeguard the right flank of the Prussian army. This suggestion was agreed to early in 1757, and a so-called "Army of Observation," composed of 36,000 Hanoverians and 24,000 Hessians and Prussians, was formed near Wesel. The command

[illegible]

of this force was offered to and accepted by the Duke of Cumberland, who sailed for Germany on the 9th April; but he was unable to effect anything important against the French forces under d'Estrées, and on the 26th July he was defeated at Hastenbeck, and driven under the walls of Stade where he arrived on the 3rd September. The result of Cumberland's defeat was the conclusion on the 8th September of the Convention of Klosterzeven. It was with the intention then of making a diversion in Cumberland's favour that Pitt had decided on a descent upon Rochefort, influenced thereto no doubt by the assurance that "the King of Prussia desires and presses much this very measure."

It was of course impossible to conceal the preparations for an expedition of considerable magnitude, but every effort was made to keep secret its destination; all seems, however, to have been revealed to the French authorities by an Irish spy, one Florence Hensey, whose correspondence, when seized about March of the year following, was found to contain a notification that the expedition was directed against Rochefort, the date of the note being antecedent to that on which instructions had been issued to the British naval and military commanders.

Pitt appears to have been guided in his choice of Rochefort as the object of the proposed expedition from the perusal of a report on the defences of the place which had been drawn up by an engineer officer, a Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke, and rendered by him to Lord Ligonier, the Commander-in-Chief.

Clarke, described by Walpole¹ as "a young Scot . . . ill-favoured in his person, with a cast in his eyes, of intellects not very sound, but quick, bold, adventurous," had visited Rochefort when returning from Gibraltar to England on leave in 1754. In his letter to Lord Ligonier he described the place as much neglected in regard to its fortifications, with no outworks, no covered way, in many places no ditch, and containing but an insignificant garrison.

The command of the expeditionary force was in the first instance offered to Major-General Lord George Sackville, then commanding the forces at Chatham, and on his refusing² Pitt was anxious that Major-General Conway should be appointed: the King, however, considered him too young and Lieutenant-General Sir John Mordaunt, commanding the troops encamped at Dorchester, was then nominated. This officer had only entered the service in 1721, so cannot, as often represented, have been a man very greatly advanced in years; he had commanded a division at Culloden and had distinguished himself at Laffeldt, but seems at this time to have been in

¹ "*Memoirs of the Reign of George II.*" Vol. 3, p. 43.

² "*S.P. Foreign, Various.*" 69.

bad health and apparently suffered from some sort of an impediment in his speech. Of him Walpole says that "he had had a sort of alacrity in daring, but from ill-health was grown indifferent to it."

Major-Generals Conway and Cornwallis were appointed to command the two brigades composing the force, and James Wolfe, then lately promoted Colonel, was employed as Deputy Quartermaster-General.

The first orders issued in connection with the expedition seem to have been from the Secretary of State to the Lords of the Admiralty,¹ and are dated the 7th July: they contain instructions for "transports to be taken up, victualled for two months and fitted for ten battalions, the numbers being specified; also for 160 horses, 1000 tons for ordnance, etc., to be victualled for 180 persons; two ships about 500 tons each for general baggage. All to repair to Spithead, the troops being to embark from the Isle of Wight."

The next letters in order of date were issued by Lord Barrington from the War Office on the 10th July.¹ The first is addressed to "Major-General Lord George Sackville, or the Officer Commanding the Forces encamped at Chatham," and announces that "It is His Majesty's pleasure that you cause the 25th, Colonel Hodgson's, and Colonel Brudenell's Regiments of Foot under your Command to march upon the 20th day of July from Camp at Chatham to the Isle of Wight, according to the annexed route, where they will receive further orders."

Wednesday, 20th.	Dartford Heath.
21st.	Blackheath.
22nd	Wimbledon.
23rd.	Ripley.
Sunday 24th.	Halt.
25th.	Godalming.
26th.	Petersfield.
27th.	Portsmouth.
28th.	Isle of Wight.

"To encamp each night on their march."

Like orders were issued on the same date to Lieutenant-General Sir John Mordaunt or Officer Commanding the forces encamped at Dorchester for the 1st Battalions of the 3rd, 8th, and 20th Regiments of Foot; to Lieutenant-General the Duke of Marlborough or Officer Commanding the forces encamped at Barham Downs for the 5th, 15th and 30th Regiments of Foot; and to Lieutenant-General Campbell or Officer Commanding the forces encamped at Amersham for the 24th Foot.

¹ W.O. 5/44.

THE ROCHEFORT EXPEDITION. 1757

The above regiments were then to form the expeditionary force and were brigaded as follows :—

1st Brigade under Conway, the 3rd, 8th, 20th, 25th and 50th.

2nd Brigade under Cornwallis, the 5th, 15th, 24th, 30th and 51st. To these were added 160 horses, and the following guns with forty horses :—

Six 24-pounders, brass, mounted on travelling carriages, complete with limbers.

Four 12-pounders.

Ten 6-pounders, brass, on travelling carriages, with limbers, etc. complete.

Six 3-pounders.

Two 5½ inch howitzers.

Two 10 inch, two 8 inch mortars, twenty 4 inch Cohorns.

Sir John Mordaunt seems to have at once made application for two more "old Regiments," but this request was not entertained; two more infantry battalions, however, the 34th and 37th, accompanied the force for employment as marines with the fleet.

On the 20th July orders¹ were issued to the Lords of the Admiralty "to get ready for service at least sixteen ships of the Line and a proportion of frigates to proceed under command of Sir Edward Hawke to Spithead where he will receive instructions from the Secretary of State. Transports ordered on the 7th July to Spithead to follow orders from Sir E. Hawke."

Sir John Mordaunt seems to have understood from his instructions, and also from a paper handed him at the same time by Lord Ligonier, that it was necessary that the attack on Rochefort should be of the nature of a surprise, and that "if the design was discovered, or the alarm taken, it would be next to impossible to execute it"; It is not easy, however, to read this interpretation into his orders.² He was told that it was considered "highly expedient and of urgent necessity" to cause a diversion and that Rochefort had been specially selected for the purpose; that he was to attempt a descent upon the coast and an attack upon the place, burning and destroying "all docks, magazines, arsenals and shipping." Then after the attempt on Rochefort had either succeeded or failed, he was to attempt L'Orient or Bordeaux, "in order to carry and spread, with as much rapidity as may be, a warm alarm along the Maritime Provinces of France."

In only one particular does the military commander seem to have been tied by his orders, and that was in the 4th paragraph thereof, wherein he was directed that his operations must be concluded

¹ "S.P. Foreign, Various." 69.

² "Proceedings of Mordaunt's Court-Martial." p. 9.

"within such time as shall be consistent with the return of the Troops under your Command, so as to be in England at, or about, as near as may be, the end of September." Although the expedition actually started very much later than had originally been intended, no extension of the time fixed for return seems to have been arranged or asked for, except for the *completion* of any operations in which the Fleet and the troops might on that date be engaged.

The start of the expedition was greatly delayed; on the 20th August, Sir John Mordaunt wrote to Pitt from his headquarters at Newport, stating that a Mr. Thames, the agent for the transports, had called on him three days previously to say that in his opinion an insufficient number of ships had been detailed for the force to be embarked; Pitt sought to settle the matter as expeditiously as possible by directing the Admiral to take any surplus soldiers on his men-of-war. This Sir Edward Hawke strongly objected to do on the grounds that he had already "two battalions of raw, undisciplined men" on board his ships—a remark which can hardly have promoted good feeling between the Navy and the officers and men of the 34th and 37th Regiments who had been detailed to serve as marines!

The Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to whom Mr. Thames had been sent to state his objections, took a very strong line with that gentleman, expressing themselves as "extremely surprised and displeased at the said Thames's behaviour in raising unnecessary difficulties and uneasiness"; they declared that the usual rate of *one ton per man* had been allowed; but that they were adding additional tonnage which would bring the total up to 12,400 for 8,000 men.

Preparations went on in a leisurely manner until, on the 5th September, Pitt wrote to both Sir Edward Hawke and Sir John Mordaunt, stating that "His Majesty expects, with impatience, to hear that the troops are embarked"; they were reminded that on a previous occasion ten battalions had been "completely embarked within twenty-four hours"; and that "the King expects to hear, by the return of the messenger, that the Fleet with the troops on board have proceeded to sea."

Sir John Mordaunt and Sir Edward Hawke both replied to this letter, deprecating the suggestion that there had been any delay; and the former, writing at night on the 6th September, informed the Secretary of State that although "the first of the Transports did not arrive at Cowes until Sunday evening: we began the embarkation at daybreak the next morning and continued putting the troops on board till after it was dark. We followed the same method to-day; and by that means I have now the pleasure to acquaint you that I finished the embarkation of the last Regiment at about six

this evening. I beg you will do me the favour," added the General, "to mention to His Majesty, that we were obliged to march the troops and baggage five miles to the place of embarkation, and that we were then forced to put the men in small boats, in which they were rowed above a mile before they could embark in the Transports."

Although the start was thus delayed—the expeditionary force not putting to sea until the 8th September—considerable forethought had been exercised in the preparations for the work expected of it, scaling-ladders constructed for thirty men to mount them abreast having been provided, while each of the forty-four transports had been directed to have ten boats capable of holding thirty men each, so that the bulk of the troops might land at one and the same time. The transports were escorted by eighteen men-of-war, six frigates, two bomb-ketches and two fire-ships: the commander of the troops, Sir John Mordaunt, and his staff officer, Colonel James Wolfe, voyaged on Sir Edward Hawke's flagship, the *Ramilies*, ninety guns, Major-General Conway was accommodated in the *Neptune*, also a ninety-gun ship, and Major-General Cornwallis in the *Royal William* of eighty-four guns.

The expedition thus left England a fortnight before the equinox.

A subaltern of the 51st, Lieutenant William Roy, was employed on this service as an engineer, for which his previous training had thoroughly well qualified him. At the age of twenty he had been appointed assistant to Lieutenant-Colonel David Watson, then Deputy Quartermaster-General to the Forces, who was at that time employed in Scotland in making roads under Field-Marshal Wade's scheme for opening up the Highlands. Roy assisted in the preparation of a huge map of the mainland of Scotland in thirty-eight divisions or parts, and shortly after obtaining his commission he was appointed a practitioner engineer, and when the danger of invasion became acute Lieutenant Roy was employed in making military reconnaissances of such parts of the country as seemed most exposed to danger. He was a very neat draughtsman and many of his surveys are preserved in the British Museum.

In Sir John Mordaunt's own statement¹ he says that "the voyage being tedious, we did not make the French coast till the 20th September about noon," adding "it was the 23rd before we got into the Road," so that Wolfe's criticism was justified when he wrote²:—"We lost three days without and three within. We were in sight of the Island of Rhé, September 20th, and it was the 23rd before we fired a gun. That afternoon and night slipped through our hands, the lucky moment of surprise and consternation among our enemies."

¹ "Report of the General Officers." p. 13.

² Wright's "Life of Wolfe." p. 397.

The van of the fleet, led by Captain Howe in the *Magnanime*, stood in to the Island of Aix, General Conway following with three battalions—3rd, 5th and 8th—to “sustain,” as he expressed it, the attack on the Fort, his men being supplied, as directed in Sir John Mordaunt’s orders, each with “two good flints and thirty-six rounds of ammunition; except the grenadiers and detached companies, who are to have double proportion.” The *Magnanime* made no reply to the French fire until she dropped anchor close under the fort, when she and the *Barfleur* opened so heavy a bombardment that within an hour the French flag was hauled down.

“Part of our land forces were now put on shore to take possession of this important island. Upon entering the fort, we found its whole strength to have consisted in about six iron guns, mounted *en barbet*, two brass ones on the top of an old tower, and two mortars. Near five hundred men, part soldiers and part sailors, were made prisoners of war on this occasion. I wish I could with truth report that our people behaved with the moderation they ought to have done; and I am more sorry, for the credit of our discipline, that the severe orders, which the reader has already seen, were not as severely executed. Both our soldiers and sailors were suffered to get abominably drunk, and in consequence of that cruelly to insult the poor sufferers. This little island became, in a very few hours, a most shocking scene of devastation; even the church was suffered to be pillaged, the poor priest robbed of his little library, and his robes became a masquerading habit to the drunken Tars.”¹

It was no doubt this scene that Wolfe had in his mind when he wrote² of the unfortunate end of the expedition. “These disappointments, I hope, won’t affect their courage; nothing I think, can hurt their discipline—it is at its worst!”

Conway and Wolfe both took advantage of the possession of the Island and Fort of Aix to make something of a reconnaissance of the coast, and on the next morning, the 24th September, proposed to Hawke and Mordaunt a plan for landing troops as near as possible to Fouras, a fort on the same side of the River Charente as Rochefort, while part of the fleet should bombard Fouras from the sea, and the remainder make a diversion against Rhé and Rochelle. This scheme was approved by Sir John Mordaunt, but rejected by Sir Edward Hawke on the grounds that there was no suitable landing place near Fouras, while the men-of-war could not get close enough in shore to assist by engaging the fort.

A general Council of War, attended by the generals and admirals was assembled on the 25th, and a suggestion to land in Chatelaillon

¹ “*A genuine Account of the late Grand Expedition.*” p. 16.

² *Beccles Wilson's “Life and Letters of James Wolfe.”* p. 338.

Bay and march direct to the attack on Rochefort was negatived as "neither advisable nor practicable," and the Council seems to have been adjourned until the next day, when Mordaunt and Hawke put forward a proposal, which had not very much to commend it, to land troops on the Island of Oleron. This scheme was laid aside after some debate, and Conway persuaded his colleagues to meet at the Island of Aix and consider anew his earlier proposal for a landing at Chatelaillon Bay.

This they were prevailed upon to do, and it appearing from the evidence of Rear-Admiral Brodrick that Chatelaillon was "a very fair, firm, sandy Bay" where, as he expressed it, the soldiers might land without wetting their shoes, the proposition was referred to another Council of War which met on the 28th, and a decision to effect a landing was at last come to.

It was resolved to land in Chatelaillon Bay, leaving there in an entrenchment "the two new battalions," viz., the 50th and 51st, both in order to keep in check the French troops, who had been seen on the coast, but whose numbers were purely conjectural, and to cover the retirement of the main body of the troops to be landed, should the attack on Fort Fouras prove unsuccessful. Orders were given for the operation to be carried into execution that very night.

The following orders were issued by Sir John Mordaunt from the *Ramilies* and were read on board every transport at 8 o'clock at night :

The troops are to be ready to go from the transports into the boats at 12 o'clock at night : a number of men of-war's boats which will be appointed to every regiment under the command of a lieutenant ; these, with the transport boats (who are to be under the direction of a lieutenant of foot) are to receive the grenadiers, the picquet companies, one, two, or more companies as the boats can contain them ; the commander of every regiment lands with the first detachment, if it amounts to three companies.

Particular care to be taken, that the soldiers be not too much crowded in the boats.

The crews of the boats that row the transports' longboats are to be chiefly composed of soldiers, who are to return to the corps after the first landing, and row backwards and forwards till the whole disembarkation is completed, and till the provisions, tents, baggage, etc., are landed.

When the first part of every regiment is embarked, it is to proceed silently and quietly to the place of rendezvous appointed for the division, and there the whole division will receive their orders from a captain of a ship of war, which orders they are in every particular strictly to obey.

The troops have had a great example before their eyes, and the General

is confident that they will endeavour to imitate the coolness and determined valour that appeared in the attack of the Isle of Aix.

No soldier is to fire from the boats upon any account, but to wait for the moment to join the enemy with their bayonets.

Eight mantlets per regiment will be distributed, and the commanding officers will dispose of them so as to cover the landing boats and rowers from the musquetry, in case it be necessary.

The troops are to land silently, and in the best order the nature of the thing allows of.

The companies to form and be ready to attack whoever appears before them.

The Chief Engineer, the Quartermaster General and his deputies, are to go on shore with the first body that lands.

All the intrenching tools are to be landed immediately after the second embarkation.

Mr. Boyd, the comptroller of the artillery, is appointed to carry orders to the chief engineer, captain of the artillery, and to every branch of the ordnance, and is to be obeyed.

Each regiment to send a return immediately of the number of tents they have remaining after the calculating a tent for eight men.

Colonel Kingsley¹ to be ready to march with the grenadiers upon their landing with two field officers, Major Farquhar² and Lieutenant-Colonel Sir William Boothby³.

The regiments are each of them to receive from the storekeeper of the ordnance ten chevaux-de-frize, and to send for them forthwith.

The account of what followed on the issue of these orders may here well be given in the words of the evidence of Colonel Brudenell, commanding the 51st Foot, as afterwards set down in the proceedings of the Court of Inquiry⁴: "By Sir John Mordaunt's orders the afternoon of the 28th, it appeared the intention was to land before the day came on. The longboat belonging to the transport he was aboard of, was a pretty large one, and there were embarked in it forty or forty-two soldiers. They waited some time alongside the ship expecting the signal to put off, and observing that the wind blew very strong from the shore, he asked the master of the transport whether he thought it possible that the Yawl with four soldiers in it could tow that Long-boat to shore? who answered it was impossible to do it in less than seven hours, but he rather thought it was impossible to do it at all. He, Colonel Brudenell, had apprehended the men-of-war's boats were to have attended and assisted in towing them; for having been on board several ships, it appeared to him an impossible thing; this was about one in the morning.

¹ Commanding 20th Foot.

² 15th Foot.

³ 30th Foot.

⁴ "Report of the General Officers." p. 32.

Whilst they were waiting an officer of his Regiment, who had been on board the Transport whence the Grenadiers and Pickets were to go into the boats, came on board and told him Captain Buckle of the *Royal George* had been on board that Transport and observed to them, that, as the wind was, he thought it impracticable for the boats to land; and that Captain Buckle was gone on board the Admiral to acquaint him therewith. In about an hour and a half after that, another boat came alongside the Transport with a sea-officer, as he believes, in it, who said Captain Buckle was come back from the Admiral, and the men were not to land that night, but were to return to their ships again. This he did not take for an order, and so his men remained in the boat, where they had been some hours, till he received Sir John Mordaunt's orders to put them on board again."

These orders, when at last received, were laconic enough :—"The troops to return to their respective ships till further orders."

On the morning of the next day, the 29th, Sir John Mordaunt received a letter from the Admiral, in confirmation of a communication already made verbally, that "if the General Officers had no further military operations to propose, considerable enough to authorize his detaining the Squadron under his command longer there, he intended to proceed with it for England without loss of time."

On receipt of this letter the General called his senior officers together again to consider the contents, when "the small importance of the enterprize against the Forts did not appear to us a sufficient motive to justify us in detaining His Majesty's fleet. We understood the fleet was to be employed in more considerable services after this Expedition was over; and we had learned from the officers of the Navy, that near this time the French fleets from Martinico and Louisbourg were expected. These considerations, together with the limitation of the time for our return to England, induced us to consent to Sir Edward Hawke's proposal."

The next two days were employed in completing the demolition of the works of the Island of Aix—in the effecting of which some soldiers were more or less seriously injured—and on the 1st October, the Fleet and Transports set sail for Portsmouth which was reached on the 6th :—

"We went, we saw, were seen, like Valiant Men

Sailed up the Bay, and then—sailed back again!"¹

On arrival at Portsmouth, Sir Edward Hawke received instructions from Mr. Secretary Pitt, dated 7th October, directing him to disembark at Southampton "the five following Battalions, *viz.*, the Earl

¹ "Gentleman's Magazine," 1757.

of Home's" (25th), "Lord George Bentinck's" (5th), "first Battalion of Lieutenant-General Wolfe's" (8th), "first Battalion of Colonel Kingsley's" (20th), "and first Battalion of Colonel Howard's" (3rd); and that the five other Battalions, *viz.* "the Earl of Loudon's" (30th), "Colonel Amherst's" (15th), "Colonel Hodgson's" (50th), "Colonel Brudenell's" (51st), and "the first Battalion of Major-General Cornwallis's" (24th), "be disembarked at Portsmouth. With regard to the two Battalions of Lieutenant-General Stuart's" (37th) "and the Earl of Effingham's" (34th), "which have served on board the Fleet, it is the King's pleasure that they be disembarked at Portsmouth or Chatham, according as the Men-of-War may be ordered to either of those places."

The 51st Regiment would probably now hear for the first time that a change had been made in its establishment: the announcement is made in a letter dated the 17th September of this year, which directed the tenth Company in the 5th, 15th, 25th, 30th, 50th, 51st and 56th Regiments to be broken up and incorporated in the other Companies. These Regiments to be henceforth composed of one company of Grenadiers and eight Battalion companies; the Grenadier company to consist of four Sergeants, four Corporals, two Fifers, two Drummers and 100 Private Men, and each Battalion company of four Sergeants, four Corporals, two Drummers and 100 Private Men. "To recruit by Beat of Drum or otherwise in order to fill up the respective Nine Companies." Then on the 23rd September, the establishment of the 51st was augmented by six Sergeants, six Corporals and 200 Effective Private Men.¹

The destination of the Regiment was announced "to Colonel Brudenell or the Officer Commanding the 51st Regiment of Foot on their disembarking at Portsmouth," in a letter² stating that "It is His Majesty's pleasure that on disembarking the 51st Regiment of Foot under your Command at Portsmouth you cause them to march in such divisions and by such route as shall be thought most convenient to the places mentioned in the margin hereof, where they are to remain and be quartered until further orders." Three companies were to be quartered at Chichester, one at Havant, Bedhampton and Emsworth, one at Petworth and Midhurst, two at Petersfield and two at Godalming.

Feeling in England ran very high over the failure of the expedition which had been so long preparing, from which so much was hoped, and which had cost a million of money. The King was furious, since he had hoped up to the last that the fleet and transports might

¹ W.O. 26/42.

² W.O. 5/45. This letter is dated 7th October, 1757, and signed by Thos. Tyrwhitt, "in the absence of the Secretary at War."

have been diverted to Stade to the relief of the Duke of Cumberland. Hawke was member for Portsmouth and the return of the Fleet under his command was greeted with a "dumb peal" on the church bells.

On the 1st November, a Royal Warrant was issued for the assembly of a Court of Inquiry composed of three general officers—Lieutenant-General the Duke of Marlborough and Major-Generals Lord George Sackville and the Hon. John Waldegrave—to inquire into the causes of the failure of the expedition. The Court assembled for the first time on the 12th November, and many officers who had served with the fleet and army were examined—Colonel Brudenell among others—and several causes were assigned for the ill-success of the venture; but the Court considered the expedition actually failed "from the time the great object of it was set aside in the Council of War of the 25th September."

Then on the 3rd December an order signed by Lord Holderness was issued for the trial by General Court-Martial of the unfortunate military commander of the expedition, on the charge, "that he being appointed by the King Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's forces, sent on an Expedition to the Coast of France, and having received orders and instructions relative thereto from His Majesty, under His Royal Sign Manual, and also by one of his principal Secretaries of State, hath disobeyed His Majesty's said Orders and Instructions."

The Court was composed of Lieut.-General Lord Tyrawly, President; the Members being Lieut.-Generals Lord Cadogan, John Guise, Richard Onslow¹, Henry Pulteney, Sir Charles Howard, John Huske, Lord Delawarr and James Cholmondeley; Major-Generals Maurice Bocland, Earl of Panmure, Earl of Ancram, Earl of Harrington, Earl of Albemarle, Henry Holmes, Alexander Dury, John Mostyn, and Edward Carr; Colonels William Kingsley, Alexander Duroure and Bennet Noel, the Deputy Judge Advocate General being Mr. Charles Gould.

The trial commenced in the Council Chamber at Whitehall on Wednesday, the 14th December, and was protracted until Tuesday the 20th, a great number of witnesses being called, among them being Lieutenant William Roy of the 51st Regiment, who gave expert evidence on the time considered necessary for throwing up certain entrenchments. On the last named date the Court found the prisoner "not guilty" of the charge and acquitted him, but the trial was discussed afresh in a number of pamphlets which for some time continued to appear.

There is one curious circumstance connected with this case which is of interest in view of another court-martial held only some few

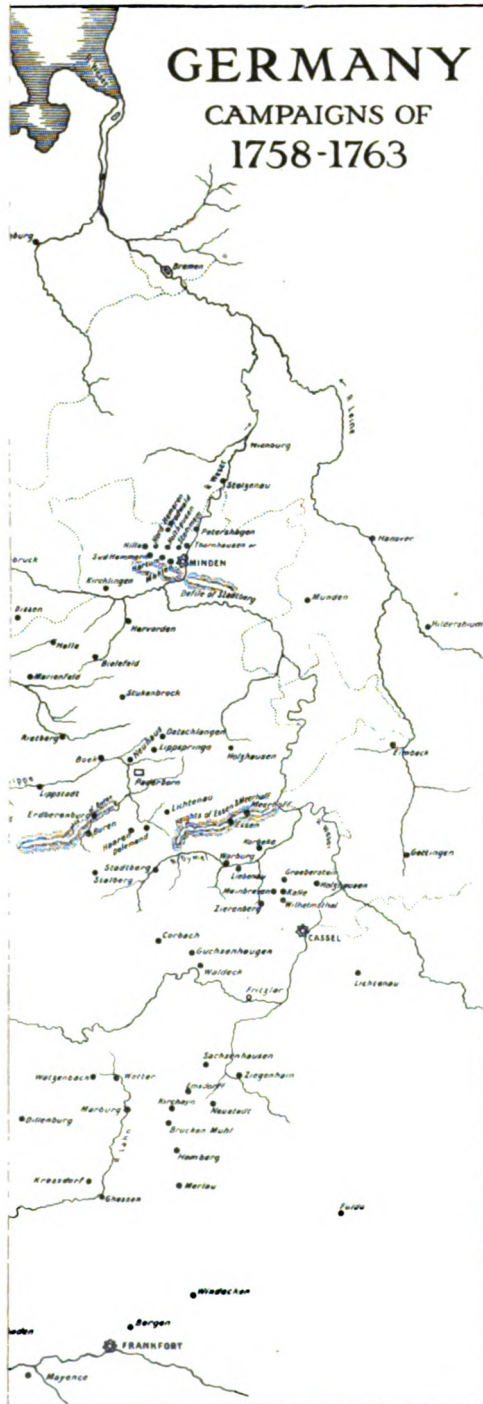
¹ *Brother of the Speaker of the House of Commons.*

months later, and which moved the Nation to an even greater degree than did that on Sir John Mordaunt. At the close of the Court of Inquiry on that officer, Lord George Sackville, for some reason best known to himself, for he was not president of the Court, considered it necessary to make a few remarks: he said that "the most disagreeable thing, *next to being tried himself*, was that of being appointed to sit on an inquiry into the conduct of gentlemen whose courage and fidelity had been so often tried!"¹

¹ "Gentleman's Magazine," 1757. p. 492.

GERMANY

CAMPAIGNS OF 1758-1763



THE OPENING OF THE CAMPAIGN IN GERMANY

III

THE news of the conclusion of the Convention of Klosterzeven, which virtually meant the dismemberment of the army which the Duke of Cumberland commanded, came as a heavy blow to King Frederick of Prussia, who issued a fervent appeal to King George not to "shamelessly abandon" him to his enemies after having brought against him all the Powers of Europe. At this time the Russians were ravaging East Prussia, Silesia was over-run by the Austrians, and the great French army now in Westphalia under Soubise seemed about to be united with the army which, commanded by Marshal Richelieu, had defeated Cumberland at Hastenbeck.

But King George and his Cabinet had already decided that the Convention of Klosterzeven should not be ratified, and on the 8th September, 1757, Lord Holderness had written a letter to the King of Prussia through Andrew Mitchell, the envoy at that Court, stating that the Convention would be repudiated, and asking that the command of the Army of Observation just vacated by the Duke of Cumberland should be offered to Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick.

Early in October of this year, the following was the distribution of the opposing armies in Germany¹:—at Stade was the remains of Cumberland's army, 40,000 strong; near Halberstadt, facing east, was Richelieu with 40,000 men confronting a German force of 7,000 at Magdeburg; south of Richelieu and in line with him but fronting to the south-east was de Broglie with 12,000; while further south still at Langensalza was Soubise with nearly 40,000 soldiers, some French and some drawn from the Estates of the Empire. At Weissenfels was Frederick with 13,000 and Count Moritz at Torgau with another 7,000; but on the eastern flank of these were the Austrians—15,000 men under Marschall at Bautzen, a small force under Hadik was threatening Berlin, while Prince Charles of Lorraine and Nadasdy with 82,000 were opposing a German force of less than half their strength at Breslau.

These did not constitute the sum of Frederick's active enemies, for a Swedish army was in Prussian Pomerania, and 40,000 Russians were on the Memel.

The letter from Holderness to Mitchell arrived at the Prussian Headquarters on the eve of Rossbach; the matter of its contents was

¹ "*Der Siebenjährige Krieg, German General Staff.*" Vol. 5, p. 166.

quickly arranged, and Ferdinand, leaving the Prussian army at Leipsig, reached and took over his somewhat disorganized command at Stade on the night of the 23rd November, 1757. Here then for the present we may leave him and trace the steps that were being taken in England to provide Ferdinand with a reinforcement of troops from that country.

The movements of the 51st Regiment may be followed in letters received during the winter of 1757 and the spring of 1758, from the Secretary at War: thus on the 31st October, orders were issued for "the two Companies of the 51st Regiment of Foot at Godalming to be enlarged with the places mentioned in the margin"—the places named being Catshall, Farncomb, Binscomb, Hurtmore, Shackleford and Eden.

On the 17th November, the detachment from Chichester was ordered to march thence to Upnor Castle—where in those days powder was stored—"to receive and safely escort the powder and baggage of their Regiment to Chichester."

On the 22nd February, 1758, the Commanding Officer was directed to furnish an escort from the companies at Petersfield 1758 for fifteen prisoners of war who were on parole at that town, and march them to Porchester Castle.

On the 29th March, it was ordered that the 51st Regiment was to march, apparently by companies, independently from their several quarters, "to Portsmouth to be there quartered," all moving from Petworth and Midhurst, where the Headquarters would seem to have been, Havant, Godalming, Chichester and Farnham on the 31st. And then came an order which denoted that the 51st had already again been selected for active service: it is dated the 30th March,¹ is signed by "Thos. Tyrwhitt, for Secretary at War," and is addressed to "Colonel Brudenell or Officer Commanding the 51st Regiment at Portsmouth," and runs: "It is His Majesty's pleasure that you cause the 51st Regiment of Foot under your command, on their arrival at Portsmouth and Gosport to embark with the tents and camp necessities on board such ships as shall be provided to receive them."

We must now see what had happened to cause the 51st to be again so soon detailed to form part of an expeditionary force.

Duke Ferdinand had experienced great difficulties in making of the army he had been sent to command a really war-worthy weapon. *Morale* was low, equipment was wanting, and the system of supply was as bad as it well could be. But Ferdinand was a man of great strength of character and in a short time he had done much to revive the spirit of his army, to re-equip his men and to improve the system of supply. The best criticism passed on him at this time comes

¹ These letters are all at the Public Record Office in W.O. 5/45.

THE OPENING OF THE CAMPAIGN IN GERMANY

from an English soldier who afterwards acquired great fame as a leader in the field; this was Jeffery Amherst, then serving as a commissary with the Hessian troops, who wrote as follows on the 21st December, to General Yorke at the Hague¹: "The Prince," he said, "is indefatigable, and with his manner with the troops gains their love and confidence; all I see and hear foretells success."

During the winter Ferdinand presented a strong front to the French, while Frederick repeatedly urged the English Cabinet to send a British contingent to Germany to help cover his right, but for some time Pitt could not be induced to go to the lengths that the Court of Berlin desired. Early in the year 1758 Ferdinand was holding the line of the lower Weser, but some assistance of a naval character now seemed required, and he consequently represented to Pitt the material advantage to be gained could only a small force be sent to East Friesland. These representations, joined to Frederick's continued appeals, were not without effect, and at last the English Cabinet despatched a very small naval squadron to that coast under Commodore Holmes, who entered the Weser and by the end of February had seized some enemy shipping, and had opened communications with Ferdinand, while before the end of March he had captured the Port of Emden.

It now became necessary to provide a garrison for that place and Pitt decided that England must find the force required. The garrison of Austrians and French who had been driven thence by the pressure of sea-power had numbered nearly four thousand men, horse, foot and artillery, but the British military authorities considered that one strong battalion of infantry would be sufficient, and the Regiment selected for this service was the 51st.

On the same day as the letter already quoted ordering the 51st to proceed to Portsmouth for embarkation, directions were issued to the Lords of the Admiralty for "a sufficient number of transports to be prepared in proper manner for Colonel Brudenell's Battalion of 900 Private Men, with the usual allowance of women and servants, ordered to embark immediately at Portsmouth for foreign service." Then finally on April 3rd instructions² were issued to the Lords of the Admiralty that "the transports are to sail with all expedition under proper convoy to Emden in East Friesland, the troops to be disembarked there and the transports to return to Portsmouth under the same convoy."

Of the actual departure from England of the 51st Regiment, there does not appear to be any record, but in a letter from Colonel Brudenell to Holderness, dated Emden the 5th May, he writes

¹ *British Museum. Add. MMS.* 32876.

² "*S.P. Foreign, Various.*" Vol. 69.

reporting his arrival on the 21st April—"after a tedious voyage of sixteen days from Spithead,"¹ so the 51st must have sailed not later than the 6th April.

England was now definitely committed to and had entered upon the continental war, and the 51st Regiment of Foot formed the Vanguard of the little army of seventeen battalions of British Infantry and thirteen regiments of British Horse, which were to fight during the next five years in Germany under one whom Fortescue describes as "the greatest commander that led English troops to victory in Europe between Marlborough and Wellington."²

At this time—the middle of April, 1758—a large camp was formed in the Isle of Wight of sixteen battalions of Infantry, including one from each Regiment of Guards, and by the end of May the concentration was completed. The original intention of this camp appears to have been to use the troops composing it for raids upon the French coast as to the efficacy of which King Frederick was a firm believer, and on June 1st, an expedition was sent against St. Malo, but the troops were back in harbour within a very few weeks, nothing of a useful character having been accomplished. It was then that Pitt, or, as some say, Lord Ligonier, the Commander-in-Chief, proposed that 6,000 men should be taken from the force camped in the Isle of Wight and sent to join Ferdinand in Germany, and that five regiments of cavalry, which were then immediately available, should also be at once embarked.

On the 27th June, Holdernesse wrote³ to Colonel Brudenell at Emden announcing His Majesty's intention of sending a body of British cavalry to reinforce the army under Duke Ferdinand—"to be disembarked at Emden, precise time of sailing not yet settled. The Regiments to join Prince Ferdinand are the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards Blue, Lieutenant-General Bland's⁴, Sir Charles Howard's⁵, Ineskillin (sic) and Sir John Mordaunt's."⁶ This letter was followed by one written on the 30th telling Colonel Brudenell that "His Majesty has determined to augment the reinforcement of British troops, destined to join the army under Prince Ferdinand, with one regiment of dragoons and three of Foot, of which yours" (Brudenell's) "is one. Colonel Webb⁷ acts as Quartermaster-General to this corps and sets out for Emden with this packet. . . Quarters and stabling to be provided for 3,102

¹ "S.P. Foreign, Military Expeditions." No. 32.

² "History of the British Army." Vol. 2. p. 557.

³ These letters are at the Record Office in "S.P. Foreign, Mil. Expeditions." 32.

⁴ 1st Dragoon Guards.

⁵ 3rd Dragoon Guards.

⁶ 10th Dragoons.

⁷ Colonel Daniel Webb, 48th Foot.

THE OPENING OF THE CAMPAIGN IN GERMANY

men and 550 horses. . . . A detachment of invalids will be sent to do garrison duty at Embden, and you are to make all the necessary preparations for marching with your Regiment to join the army under Prince Ferdinand on receipt of an order."

The regiments detailed in accordance with the above were the Greys, the 12th and 37th Foot, and during the first part of July were ordered, the cavalry to Blackheath and the infantry to Gravesend, where Colonel Douglas, 4th Dragoons, had been sent to perform the duties of Embarkation Officer.

The full composition of the Emden force was finally announced to Colonel Brudenell by Holderness in a letter dated the 7th July, in which he wrote: "His Majesty has decided to increase the reinforcement by three other regiments, *viz*, Kingsley's (20th), 23rd or Royal Welsh Fusiliers, commanded by Lieutenant-General John Huske, and 25th, commanded by Major-General William, Earl Home; these are actually in complete readiness to embark as soon as they receive their new cloathing."

The matter of the troops to be sent to Duke Ferdinand's polyglot army was now settled, and there remained only the selection of their commanders. It was at first decided to detail Lieutenant-General Thomas Bligh who was then in his seventy-fourth year, and who appears to have been actually summoned to London from Ireland to receive his orders. On arrival, however, he found that he was not to command the Emden force, but that Lieutenant-General the Duke of Marlborough had been chosen. The Duke of Newcastle, writing on the 30th June to General Yorke at the Hague, informed him that the general officers to go with the troops were "General Blythe, Commander-in-Chief; Major-Generals of Horse, Granby and Sir J. Whitefoord; Major-Generals of Foot, Kingsley," and then writing a few days later said:—"Blithe is set aside."¹

The Duke of Marlborough received on the 11th July the official intimation of his appointment; he was then Master General of the Ordnance, had commanded a brigade at Dettingen, and had held the chief command of the late abortive expedition to St. Malo; he was not a military genius, but he was brave, generous and good-natured. The second in command was Major-General Lord George Sackville, but he was not nominated at first, his request to serve in Germany having been refused. The reason probably was that he had made certain disparaging remarks in regard to Pitt's raids upon the French coast; on his return from St. Malo he vowed that he would "no longer go buccaneering,"² and possibly as a result of this too open expression of his views, it was not until he had

¹ *Add. MMS.* 32881.

² "*Bubb Dodginton's Diary*," 10th July.

followed the troops to Germany that he was permitted to remain with them as second-in-command.

The next in seniority was the Marquis of Granby, who was appointed as a cavalry brigadier, mainly, no doubt, because he was colonel of the Blues, since such military experience as he possessed had been gained in the infantry. He had served in "the Forty-five," on the staff of the Duke of Cumberland during the campaign of 1747, and retiring then on half-pay had automatically risen to the rank of Major-General. In the army he was immensely and deservedly popular; Walpole, who was no particular friend of Granby's, wrote that he was "so popular, that when he set out for the army fifty-two young officers had solicited to be his aides-de-camp. . . . He was open, honest, affable and of such unbounded good nature and generosity, that it was impossible to say which principle actuated him in the distribution of the prodigious sums that he spent and flung away."¹

Captain and Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Hotham, First Guards, was appointed adjutant-general, Colonel Brown, 69th Foot, was private secretary to the commander-in-chief, and the Rev. John Hotham was chaplain at British Army Headquarters.

From the first moment of his arrival with the 51st at Emden, Colonel Brudenell proved himself an ideal Base Commandant, making all possible inquiry into the resources of the port, and offering many useful suggestions how facilities for the landing there of troops of all arms might be created or improved. He early wrote to Lord Holdernes pointing out the serious difficulties attending disembarkation at Emden itself, since there was only a narrow water way up to that town, navigable by no larger craft than small flat-bottomed boats. He stated he had found it best to disembark the 51st four miles below Emden, and suggested that the same spot should be used for the cavalry, advising Lord Holdernes, however, that it would be necessary to put up wharves and landing stages which there were non-existent.

Writing again on the 11th July, Colonel Brudenell stated that Duke Ferdinand had sent a cavalry officer and a commissary to Emden, and that these had inspected and fixed upon a place called Hartsum, eight miles from Emden and further up the river, as being more convenient for disembarkation, since it would save the troops from crossing the river and would also spare them more than four marches. But Colonel Brudenell expressed his doubts as to there being there "water enough for our large transports—some of 400 tons and upwards!" He took an early opportunity about this time of reminding Holdernes that the 51st had no camp equipment in

¹ "*Memoirs of the Reign of George II.*" Vol. 3, p. 192.

THE OPENING OF THE CAMPAIGN IN GERMANY

its possession, having been sent off from England in a hurry without drawing any and not having since received it.

On the 18th July, Holdernessee was able to announce that the first division of cavalry "sailed from the Nore yesterday morning, and that the second division, consisting of one regiment of dragoons and one of infantry, sailed the same day from Gravesend."

Brudenell wrote on the 27th that "on Sunday evening part of the transports with the first division of cavalry under Lord Granby had appeared off Emden, the rest not getting in till the Tuesday"; that they had at once proceeded up the river to Hartsum, and he (Brudenell) "hoped they are got safe on shore this evening." The second division was hourly expected, "the wind being fair."

In accordance with instructions previously received Granby marched off to join the Allied Army without waiting for the arrival of the force with the Duke of Marlborough. The whole body seems, however, to have been landed by the 3rd August—excepting the Greys, who did not embark until the 1st and whose voyage was delayed by bad weather. The Duke of Marlborough wasted no time at Emden, for he was able to write to Holdernessee on the 5th August from Rhede that he had caught up with Granby, having then with him six battalions of infantry and five regiments of cavalry, "and have from this place eleven days' march, besides halts, to cross the Rhine." It was at Rhede that the 51st joined the British force, Colonel Brudenell's Regiment having been relieved at Emden by 400 Invalids under Colonel Parker. Writing on the 14th August from Koesfeld, midway between Wesel and Münster, Marlborough reported:—"Four days and nights rain *en route*. . . The Foot have marched near their middles in water. . . The Horses in bad condition."¹

At Koesfeld the British contingent joined hands with Ferdinand's army which marched in just a week later. On the 23rd August, Duke Ferdinand announced to the English Cabinet that "the junction of the Army with the British troops under the orders of the Duke of Marlborough was effected the day before yesterday. I inspected them yesterday, and it is impossible for me to express the satisfaction I felt at the good order in which I found these fine troops." There is no doubt that the British contingent made a great impression upon all who saw them, and contemporary historians, like Mauvillon, Archenholtz and Westphalen, all of whom served in this campaign, write enthusiastically of the splendid appearance of the reinforcements, of the general "turn out," of the breeding of the horses, and good quality of the uniforms; but all remark on the length of the supply train that this small English army drew after it.

¹ Nearly all these letters are in "S.P. Foreign. Mil. Expeditions." 32.

There are two "states" available for this period : in the one,¹ the effective strength of the British cavalry is given as 103 officers, 1,869 other ranks and 1,644 horses. Infantry 204 officers, 4,810 other ranks. In the other² the Cavalry is put down at 143 officers, 2,280 other ranks (horses not stated). Infantry 216 officers, 5,988 other ranks. Artillery 171 other ranks.

In the first "state" the Greys are not included, but none the less the discrepancy is considerable.

During the period between Ferdinand's assumption of the command of Cumberland's army and the arrival in Germany of the British reinforcements under Marlborough, Ferdinand had been tolerably successful in covering Hanover, Hesse and Brunswick, and in acting as a guard for King Frederick's right or western flank. He had to stand on his defence against at least three opposing armies : a northern French army under Contades, known as the army of the Rhine, was based on Wesel ; a southern army under de Broglie, the army of the Main, was based on Frankfort ; while a Saxon army was established to the south-east, which might without much difficulty elude the Prussian force watching it and fall upon the left rear of the Allies. Ferdinand's operations were mainly defensive, but he had inflicted one serious defeat upon the French on the 23rd June, 1758, at Crefeld, and had taught them that he was a commander with whom no liberties could be taken. For the purpose of holding in check the powerful combination against him, it was for Ferdinand of the first importance to hold the fortresses of Münster, in Westphalia, and of Lippstadt on the Lippe.

The infantry battalions appear now to have been brigaded as under, but as the campaign progressed many changes were made consequent on corps being detached or other reinforcements joining the army :
1st Brigade under Major-General Waldegrave : 12th, 23rd and 37th Regiments.

2nd Brigade under Major-General Kingsley : 20th, 25th and 51st Regiments.

Ferdinand's army now contained a total of forty-six battalions and seventy-three squadrons, but these did not amount to much over 40,000 men, and he continued to make frequent and urgent appeals to the English Cabinet for men and materials and for help of all kinds ; he begged that two British battalions might be sent to garrison Stade, that an inshore squadron might be ordered to cruise off the mouths of the Elbe and the Weser, and that England might take charge of some 7,000 French prisoners he had captured. His appeals did not meet with much sympathy, and the present help

¹ "S.P. Foreign. Mil. Expeditions." 34.

² "German General Staff History." Vol. 8. last page.

sent him from England was limited to forty-two pontoons to replace the deficiencies in his own bridging equipment.

On the 25th August the two squadrons of the Greys joined the army at Koesfeld, and two days later the Allies moved to Lette, and on the 29th to Dulmen, where the army remained some ten days. The Allied Commander was very anxious to obtain some really decisive advantage over the French before the break up of the fine weather should oblige both antagonists to seek winter quarters. On the 9th October, therefore, Ferdinand fell back on Münster, sending out his nephew, the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick, to keep touch with the enemy. Then on the 15th the Duke left Münster for Lippstadt, intending to place his force between those of Soubise and Contades, and by the 19th had reached Soest, his troops much wearied. But Contades displayed an unusual energy, and Duke Ferdinand, discovering no opportunity for decisive action, both armies began to think of retiring into winter quarters. For some few weeks longer there was some desultory skirmishing between the opposing light troops, but during this autumn campaign the British infantry had enjoyed no opportunity of proving their mettle.

There had, however, been a very great deal of sickness among the newly arrived troops. They had been met by bad weather in moving to join the army, and had since experienced spells of it during the marching to and fro by which the end of the campaign of 1758 was marked. The prevailing sickness is usually described in contemporary letters as a "fever and a flux"—probably what we should now call dysentery.

Early in October the British Commander, the Duke of Marlborough, was attacked, but was thought at first to be going on well, it being stated in a letter of the 21st October from Holdernessee to Newcastle that by accounts just to hand from the army the duke "was out of danger though still very weak." His illness must have suddenly taken a turn for the worse for his decease was announced to the Duke of Newcastle by Lord George Sackville on the 22nd October in a letter from Hoofstadt Camp. "I think it my duty," he wrote, "to acquaint your Grace of the death of the Duke of Marlborough; he is regretted extremely by the whole army. A fever and flux seized him about a fortnight ago and he was left at Münster when the army marched to cross the Lippe. Dr. Withrington attended him the whole time and every attention that was possible was had to his safety, but all to no purpose."

Curiously enough he omits the date of the death, which was the 20th October.

Lord George Sackville was appointed to succeed the Duke of Marlborough under date of the 31st October, and the Duke of

Newcastle, writing on this date to Lord George acquainting him with his good fortune, enjoined the new commander to "promote perfect harmony and good agreement between the British and the Electoral troops," closing with the remark:—"I know the high regard you have for Prince Ferdinand and therefore I am sure you will be happy under his command."

The same illness provided many victims in the 51st during the closing weeks of the campaign and pursued all ranks into their winter quarters, nearly two hundred non-commissioned officers and men dying from "fever and flux." Two officers also succumbed, Lieutenant Peter Cartwright, the quartermaster, and Surgeon Francis Brough; the former was succeeded by Lieutenant James Hogan whose appointment as Quartermaster bears the late date of the 29th September, 1760, while Surgeon Brough was succeeded by Surgeon Thomas Rundall under date of the 7th March, 1759.

There were other changes in the Regiment, the Lieutenant-Colonel, Thomas Buck, being invalided home from the effects of an apoplectic stroke before leaving Emden, which caused his retirement and the promotion to Lieutenant-Colonel of Major Noel Furye, and to the rank of Major of Captain Hildebrand Oakes.

The troops on both sides now began preparations for winter quarters. On the 13th November, Contades withdrew his army to the left bank of the Rhine, establishing his headquarters at Cologne, but leaving some 5,000 light troops on the right bank between Wesel and Düsseldorf. He had sixty-three battalions and thirty-six squadrons between Neuwied and Cleves; in rear of these were thirty-two battalions and twenty-two squadrons, while about Aix-la-Chapelle, Roermonde and Liège lay the remainder of the army, consisting of thirteen battalions and thirty-seven squadrons.

The French army was withdrawn none too soon from active operations, for there was much sickness among men and horses, the infantry were in rags, the tents were falling to pieces, while, as Soubise described it in a letter to the War Minister: "*Je ne puis vous exprimer à quel point est poussé le désir de retourner en France.*"¹

Soubise withdrew on the 22nd November to winter quarters between the Lahn and the Main, giving up Cassel, but holding Hanau, Giessen and Frankfort.

About the 17th November the allies began to move into winter quarters, the troops being so disposed as to cover Hesse and Hanover, occupying a long line from the Netherlands to the banks of the Werra. The British and Hanoverians were for the most part quartered in the bishoprics of Münster and Osnabruck; the 12th, 20th, 23rd and

¹ Waddington, "*La Guerre de Sept Ans.*" Vol. 2, p. 185.

37th were with the Headquarters at Münster, the 25th was at Steinfurth and the 51st at Rheine. Granby, with the Blues, Greys and Inniskillings, had his Headquarters at Paderborn, while Sir John Whiteford at Münster observed the line of the Ems with the 1st Dragoon Guards at Rheine, the 3rd at Meppen, and the 10th Dragoons at Haselünen.¹

For all that during this campaign Duke Ferdinand had accomplished, he was raised by King Frederick to the rank of Field Marshal, and was awarded by the British Government a pension for life of £2000 a year.

Lord George Sackville went home on leave about the middle of December and Granby reached England considerably later, both returning together and in company with Major-General Mostyn about the 16th March, 1759; but both Sackville and Granby seem on every occasion to have supported the appeals which Ferdinand urged for more men, more guns, more money for the raising of larger contingents of soldiers from Hanover, Hesse or Brunswick. But men were wanted everywhere—even Parker, who had relieved Brudenell as commandant at Emden, sent home a plaint that he had not 350 men fit for duty and only eleven officers, "some of them decrepid," nobody who could fire a gun nor any guns fit to be mounted. To all these appeals for men Pitt turned a deaf ear—all he promised was that any wastage should be made good, and there can be no doubt that he was, to some extent at least, influenced by the repeated asseverations of Lord Ligonier, the commander in chief, that he did not know where to lay his hands on five thousand—or even one thousand—trained soldiers to repel any invasion of the United Kingdom which the French might attempt.

There is a "state"² dated 20th January, 1759, which shows a paper strength of the Allied Forces of close on 67,000 men, but this is reduced by sick and other non-effectives to well under 60,000: among the English troops there is shown one prisoner of war and one deserter—this last denoting the beginning of a serious military crime to which as the war proceeded Ferdinand had frequent occasion to call attention in his General Orders. It had been intended that for the forthcoming campaign the French army should reach a strength of 120,000; but the spring of 1759 found Contades with no more than 67,000 soldiers and Soubise with 31,000 only, so that the two combined disposed of at most 98,000 men.

¹ *The Winter Quarters of the British Regiments are given in Von Osten, "Feldzüge der allierten Armeen." Vol. 1, p. 243.*

² *"Westphalen," vol. 3, p. 125.*

The campaign was opened by the French, Soubise, on the 22nd January, taking possession of the free and neutral city of Frankfort : this was a capture of great importance, although
 1759 the event aroused intense indignation even among the Imperialists ; but it enabled the French to keep open their communications with the Austrians and made them practically masters of the Rhine and Main, so far as the transport of supplies was concerned.

With the early operations of the year 1759 the British infantry had no concern, they forming part of a body of 12,000 troops which remained about Münster under Granby and the Hanoverian General Spörcken, observing the movements of Contades and covering Hanover and Hesse. They did not share the good fortune of their comrades of the British cavalry in being engaged at Bergen on the 13th April, the first occasion during the war on which British troops played a part—albeit a small one—as a formed body. But perhaps it is as well our infantry were not here employed, for the conduct of the action of Bergen was certainly one of the least happy of Ferdinand's efforts.

In the course of the next two months there was much manœuvring : by the 24th May, Ferdinand with the bulk of his army was at Unna, the English contingent under Sackville being ordered up to Haltern. Contades, having concentrated at Giessen and Marburg, was to move in a north-easterly direction on the Weser through Hesse. On the 13th June he had passed the awkward defiles about Stadberg, crossed the Diemel on the day following, and then took up ground facing the bulk of the allied forces at Büren, where Ferdinand had effected something of a concentration, but where he now found himself hopelessly outnumbered.

On the 12th June, Ferdinand created three grenadier battalions ; one of these was formed from the grenadier companies of the six English regiments, the command being given to Major Maxwell of the 20th Foot. These, with five other German grenadier battalions, made up a Grenadier Corps which was placed under command of Prince Charles of Brunswick-Bevern, but it seems to have been seldom, if ever, used as a corporate independent body.

Ferdinand, now fearful for his communications with the Weser, left Büren on the 19th June, crossed the Lippe near Lippstadt, and took up a position near Rietberg : he retired from here on the 30th, was on the 3rd July at a small town midway between Münster and Hervorden, and on the 8th July his headquarters was at Osnabrück, where he assembled fifty-three battalions, sixty-six squadrons and some light troops. On the same day Contades reached Hervorden with his whole army, and thus the French were possessed

of the whole of Westphalia and Hesse, except the two fortresses of Münster and Lippstadt which they were closely investing.

Ferdinand at this time seems to have felt that his situation was somewhat desperate, that the enemy was too strong for him, and that he could not usefully oppose them. He wrote to King George asking for definite instructions, but the King of England made the only wise and loyal answer possible; he replied that Ferdinand was the man on the spot and therefore the best judge of what should be done, and assured him that however he decided he would receive the fullest support from the English people.¹

On the night of the 9th-10th July, the town and fortress of Minden fell to a small force of de Broglie's troops and matters seemed to have reached a crisis, and the difficulties of the situation are clearly revealed in a letter written by Ferdinand to Sackville on the 11th July: "The enemy," he wrote, "are masters of Minden. I fear that they may also capture Nienberg without my being able to prevent them, and my magazines on the Weser are thereby endangered. . . Ought I to take the chance of Nienberg being seized or ought I not to fly to the help of that place and prevent its capture by the enemy? *or*, seeing the impossibility of success, ought I wholly to abandon the Weser in order to draw nearer to my magazines at Osnabrück, Münster and along the Ems by marching to the help of Münster which is also invested?" Sackville gave a rather non-committal opinion, and the Duke preferred the plan of protecting the Lower Weser; he saved Nienberg and marched to attack the enemy, but found the two French armies had united, and, both from their numbers and the strength of their position, could not successfully be attacked. "The army," wrote Sackville to Holderness on the 18th July, "has undergone great fatigue lately, yet we hear no grumbling or complaint, but the truest spirit and cheerfulness appear upon every occasion."

The troops had need of all the "spirit" of which they were possessed—for it was almost the eve of the Battle of Minden.

¹ "S.P. Foreign. Mil. Expeditions." 35.

THE BATTLE OF MINDEN. 1759

IV

MARSHAL Contades, the French Commander, lay biding his time at Minden, waiting until he could gather to him the forces of some of his subordinates—Armentières, Chevreuse and others—and resume the offensive. In the position he had taken up he was practically unassailable ; his right rested on the river Weser, his left was secured by a mountain near the village of Harthausen, at his back was a wooded range of hills, while nearly the whole of his front was covered by a swamp. But his position was by no means without disadvantage, for it was not an easy one from which to debouch and deploy preparatory to an attack.

Ferdinand now resolved to make such movements against the rearward communications of the French as might, he hoped, bring Contades out into the open, and to this end, on the 27th July, he sent the Hereditary Prince towards Lübbecke, directed the commander at Bremen to move out towards Osnabrück, and sent a small force against Vechta ; then with the main body of his army he marched on the 29th to Hille, where he established his Headquarters covered by the 12th and 20th Foot. He had purposely left a body of troops under General Wangenheim in a somewhat isolated position at Todtenhausen on the Weser, both to serve as something of a bait to lure Contades from his position, and to cover the right of the allied column while on the march.

During this time Contades was being urged to take the offensive, equally by the War Minister, Belleisle, at Versailles, and by his own immediate subordinates ; every possible argument was used, all pressure was brought to bear, and thus goaded, Contades resolved to wait no longer upon his hoped for reinforcements, but to move out and offer battle.

The battle-field of Minden lay to the west of the River Weser and stretched in a northerly and north-westerly direction up to the line of the villages of Todtenhausen, Friedwalde, Hille and Lübbecke, while to the south it was shut in as by a wall by the low range of hills known as the Wiehengebirge. The plain was traversed by the post road running between Minden and Hervorden, which crossed the Werre at Gohfeld, while there were a few other tracks, passable for troops and light transport, connecting the larger towns and villages bordering the Minden heath and leading over the hills.

The main army under Contades was encamped on the northern slopes of the Wiehengebirge, its front covered by the marsh through

which flowed the Bastau brook, some 15 feet in width, which entered the Weser close to Minden. The marsh at this date could only be crossed at the raised causeway connecting the villages of Hille and Eickhorst; although from Süd-Hemmer, Hartum and Hahlen, several tracks led on to the heath. Between Hummelbeck and Minden the Bastau flowed through meadows then for the most part under water, and here the French had prepared nearly twenty causeways or embankments. The village of Hille, where was the Allied Headquarters, stood at the edge of the plain something under four miles from Hahlen, while that of Todtenhausen, by which name the battle is sometimes called in contemporary histories, was close to the wood of Heisterholtz, which separated it from Petershagen, so that to Contades it seemed, as it had been intended, that Wangenheim's force at Todtenhausen might easily be overwhelmed before any help could possibly reach it.

The French Marshal's plan of attack was as follows: de Broglie, on the right, was to move directly upon Todtenhausen, his force being made up to twenty-two battalions and eighteen squadrons, while considerable additions were made to his artillery. He was to be closely supported on his left by two infantry brigades under Nicolai, followed by two more under Saint Germain. The rest of the French army was to deploy on an almost semi-circular front having Minden as its centre; on the left was the Count de Guerchy with two infantry brigades, his objective being Hahlen; next to him came de Maugiron with the brigades of Aquitaine and Condé; and in rear of these followed thirteen battalions of Saxons under Prince Xavier, sometimes known as the Count de Lusace. In the centre the cavalry was disposed in three lines—a total of sixty-three choice squadrons, supported by thirty guns in two great batteries. Supporting the cavalry and connecting with Nicolai and Saint Germain were two infantry brigades under de Beaupréau, while well away to the west were four battalions and some of the free corps, which were to cannonade the Allied Headquarters and make a feint against Ferdinand's right. In Minden itself was a strong brigade.

In the event of a reverse the French left and centre were to fall back into the original position, while de Broglie covered the retreat assisted by the guns of the fortress of Minden. The baggage had been sent away under a suitable escort, and de Brissac was ordered to move on the 31st to Gohfeld and there take up a position. His force has been variously estimated at from 2,000 to 8,000 men.

On the eve of the battle the Allies were disposed in two unequal bodies; the main force lay between Hille and Friedwalde, the front behind a small stream, while the smaller portion under Wangenheim occupied Todtenhausen and Kutenhausen, the approaches to which

were under the fire of thirty-two guns in three redoubts. Brunswickers held the Hille-Eickhorst causeway with two guns, a British picquet of the 37th held Hartum, Hanoverians garrisoned Süd-Hemmern, Hessians occupied the wood between Hartum and Holtzhausen, and Brunswickers again were in Stemmer. The troops on outpost numbered 200 cavalry and 1,600 infantry under the Prince of Anhalt as general officer of the day. Connection between Headquarters and Wangenheim was maintained by the Prussian Hussars, and General Lückner with a force of all arms observed the ground to the east of the Weser.

Under Contades were 52,000 men with 170 guns, while Ferdinand commanded an army of rather under 40,000 with 187 guns.

The French army began to move forward about midnight on the 31st July in eight columns, and crossed the stream and marsh by the many passages which had been prepared, and then, forming up, waited for day and the issue of further orders. De Broglie, acting independently of the other columns, crossed to the left bank of the Weser and passed through Minden to take up the position assigned to him on the right of the army.

Ferdinand's intelligence was good, and he soon became aware that a movement by the enemy was in preparation; as early as 5 p.m. on the 31st, orders were given out that the troops were to be under arms at 1 a.m. next morning—the infantry gaitered, the cavalry saddled, and the artillery "hooked in"—but the tents were not to be struck and the men were to get what sleep they could. It was confidently expected that the main attack would be made upon Wangenheim, and Ferdinand proposed to fall on the French flank from the direction Hahlen-Stemmer. As soon as the French offensive developed, the Allies were to move in eight columns into the Minden plain, on reaching which they were to deploy into two lines, the right resting on a windmill north-west of Hahlen, while the left at Stemmer connected with Wangenheim at Todtenhausen.

No. 1 Column, numbered from the right, was commanded by Lord George Sackville, and contained eleven regiments of cavalry, six being British.

Nos. 2 and 5 Columns were composed wholly of artillery and escorts, No. 2 having ten British 12-pounders under Captains Macbean and Williams.

No. 3 under the Hanoverian General, Spörcken, contained the six British regiments and two Hanoverian battalions, with two British brigades of light guns, *viz.*, twelve 6-pounders and six howitzers under Captains Phillips and Foy.

No. 4 contained six German battalions under General Scheele; No. 6 was composed of six German battalions under General

Wutginau ; No. 7 of seven Hessian and Brunswick battalions led by Imhoff, while the eighth or left column, under the Duke of Holstein, contained nineteen squadrons (seven regiments) of Hanoverian, Hessian and Prussian Cavalry.

The "Parole" for Wednesday, the 1st August, 1759, the Day of Minden, was "Albert and Augsburg."

The actual march of the French had been some time in progress before the news of their movement reached the Duke, due partly to a violent storm which arose during the early part of the night, but due also to the "slackness" of the Prince of Anhalt commanding the outposts. As early as 10 p.m. on the 31st, two French deserters presented themselves to the 37th picquet in Hartum and reported that the French were on the move, but though the Officer Commanding outposts was himself at the moment in Hartum, he paid no attention to the report, and only sent the two Frenchmen on to the Allied Headquarters at 3-30 a.m. on the 1st August, when Ferdinand at once ordered his troops under arms and himself rode forward to Hartum. Arrived there, he found that the French advance was already penetrating into the village of Hahlen, and he ordered the Prince of Anhalt to at once retake it with his picquets, supported by the British artillery brigade of six 6-pounders and three howitzers under Captain Foy.

The Duke then rode further to the front, and as dawn was breaking—the sun rose that day about 4-30—he was able to make out strong columns in march towards Kutenhausen, and that thick clouds of smoke were rising above Wangenheim's position, but the noise of the gale, which had not yet subsided, made the actual gunfire inaudible. Presently, however, the sound of cannon was heard from the direction of Eickhorst, but rightly judging this to be no more than a feint, he brought up two more 12-pounders to Hille and sent a force to drive the enemy from Eickhorst. He then rode at speed back to his main army now in process of deployment.

By 4 a.m. de Broglie had arrived in front of Wangenheim, deployed, placed his guns in battery and his cavalry on his exposed flank—but then hesitated, being unwilling to attack until Nicolai should have drawn nearer to him. Had he only pressed on at once he might well have carried the position, for the Hanoverian picquets had not given the alarm, and only four battalions were in position and the guns not yet in battery when the French guns opened. The fire from these was naturally at first overwhelming, and the Allied infantry was ordered to kneel—Maxwell's Grenadiers conforming under protest to what they regarded as a degrading order. But when the Allied troops and guns were at last in action, their fire held the French advance.

When day had broken a strong French brigade was in possession

of the village of Hahlen, its right prolonged by three other brigades, in rear of which were two under Prince Xavier. The allies were now vigorously attacking Hahlen, and the French presently evacuated the western portion of it, setting it on fire as they did so, and the strong wind carrying the smoke into their faces, Captain Foy brought his guns up to the windmill and opened fire at close range, the enemy being finally driven from the village.

Ere this the other columns of the Allied main body had arrived at their appointed places, Spörcken's column—No. 3—containing the six English and two Hanoverian battalions, deploying into two lines on reaching the windmill. It was now that the order given by Ferdinand was misinterpreted, leading to that glorious misunderstanding which covered "the Minden Regiments with immortal honour." This order, as given by Ferdinand to Count Taube for transmission to Spörcken, ordained that "*when the advance begins it is to be made with drums beating*"; as repeated to the Hanoverian General he took it to be or to mean, "Advance, drums beating, with such Regiments as you have and attack anything in your front."

At the moment the formation of Spörcken's first line only was completed, and it at once moved off at a rapid pace, the second line hurrying after and deploying on the march. Seeing the mistake, Ferdinand immediately sent two members of his staff to Spörcken and Waldegrave ordering them to halt. The advance was checked and the line remained a short time under cover of a small wood, while the deployment was completed and a German heavy artillery brigade and Captain Phillips' six guns were ordered up: these guns now opened very effectively on the enemy.

Spörcken's battalions were burning to get on and suddenly stepped off like one man, moving so rapidly that the battalion guns could not keep up and the troops on the left were soon distanced, only one of Scheele's battalions—that of the Hardenburg Regiment—advancing in echelon on their flank.

In the first line, under Major-General Waldegrave, reckoning from right to left, were the 12th, 37th and 23rd British Regiments, the two Hanoverian battalions, and, following in echelon, the Hardenburg battalion. In the second line, led by Major-General Kingsley, were the 20th, 51st and 25th Foot.

The direction of march followed by the Anglo-Hanoverian infantry led them directly against the left of the mass of French cavalry—7,000 men in sixty-three squadrons—occupying the centre of the opposing army; and against this splendid and imposing array these nine infantry battalions came striding rapidly out of the wood, Colours flying, officers and men undisturbed, while the French guns scourged them as they came on.

Led by the Duke de Castries, eleven squadrons of the French first line of cavalry hurled themselves against "that astonishing infantry," which halted, and held its fire till the horsemen were almost intermingled, but it then rang out with murderous effect. The few riders who reached the front rank were there bayoneted; and Phillips, rushing up his guns, turned them first on the cavalry, and then on the great French battery which he silenced.

While the cavalry charge was in progress, Contades had sent two infantry brigades under de Beauprèau to support the right of the cavalry and take the Allied infantry in reverse and flank; Maugiron made a similar advance in equal force on the left, and the French guns again lashed the flank of Spörcken's infantry as they, imperturbable as ever, resumed their advance. Fourteen squadrons were now drawn from the second line of French cavalry and sent against our highly tried battalions, whose second line now prolonged to the right of the first; to meet the new attack Ferdinand drew upon Scheele, sent to the right five of his battalions which had been crowded out in the advance, brought some heavy guns up to the windmill, and sent one Staff officer after another to Lord George Sackville, vainly urging him to move his squadrons up to the support of the infantry.

The second charge of the French cavalry was no more successful than the first, and almost on their heels Contades flung his cavalry reserve into the fight. Eighteen squadrons of Gensdarmes and Carabiniers came thundering down led by de Poyanne, and such was their weight and so great were their numbers that they broke through the infantry here and there and enveloped them on three sides, while some, passing to the rear, attacked from that side; but the third rank of the infantry went about to receive them, and the line wavered, but never broke.

The watchful eye of Ferdinand recognized the urgency of the crisis and he was ready to meet it; he had drawn two German battalions from the left and he had placed them so that their fire action could produce the maximum of effect. They opened a heavy musketry fire against the flank of the French cavalry, and this, together with the steady bearing and bold countenance of the British infantry, brought even this attack to nought.

Contades watched the ruin of the flower of his army and is said to have afterwards declared that he had on this day seen what "I never thought to see, a single line of infantry break through three lines of cavalry, ranked in order of battle and tumble them to ruin."¹ The

¹ Another version, in a letter from a French officer quoted by Westphalen (Vol. 3, p. 553), runs that Contades saw what had never before been seen and which was impossible of belief, a single column of infantry breaking through three lines of cavalry and four brigades of infantry.

Gensdarmes and Carabiniers were almost destroyed, and it only needed the help of Sackville's squadrons to turn the French defeat into a rout. Lord George, however, refused to budge and even held back the more impetuous Granby.

"Never," wrote one who was present,¹ "have so many boots and saddles been seen upon a battlefield as in front of the English infantry and the Hanoverian Guards"; but the battle was not yet over, and Prince Xavier sent forward seven battalions of his Saxons who fell upon the right of the British infantry, attacking the 20th Foot and inflicting further loss upon the Regiment. Major-General Kingsley's horse was shot in four places, fell with and died upon him, and the Saxons marched twice over the General before they were finally driven back, and the General was able to extricate himself from his dead charger and rejoin his command.

Nowhere had the French been successful; De Beaupr au's attack was broken by a charge of Hessian cavalry; De Broglie remained ingloriously inactive before Wangenheim; and now at 9 a.m., Contades, realizing that all was lost, gave orders to retreat. The retirement was greatly harassed; the British guns were brought up to the very edge of the morass and flogged the columns of fugitives; Wangenheim emerged from his position and followed up de Broglie; and, their head-dresses decorated with the roses they had plucked from the gardens about Minden, the infantry of the Allies hunted the French back to the position from which they had so confidently marched overnight. Here Contades had intended to rally his army, but he barely reached his old camp when he learnt that the very same day de Brissac had been signally defeated at Gohfeld by the Hereditary Prince, and that the road to Hervorden was cut.

The French Marshal now decided to march in all haste to Cassel, and that night his troops effected the passage of the Weser and slipped away by Eimbeck, G ttingen and M nden; their retirement was almost unmolested, contact was lost, and even the direction the French had taken was for some time unknown; and when at last the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick took up the pursuit, he moved with so much caution, that the French rearguards suffered little or no loss.

The French casualties in killed, wounded and prisoners amounted to 7,086 of all ranks, those of the Allies totalled 151 officers and 2,646 other ranks, more than half of these occurring in the British infantry and artillery, for the English cavalry suffered no loss whatever. The strength of the six British battalions present at Minden is given by Westphalen² as 4,434, or an average of 739 for each regiment, and that of the Grenadier battalion under Maxwell as 700, which latter

¹ *Westphalen*. Vol. 3, p. 522.

² *Vol. 3*, p. 459.

seems rather an over-estimate considering it contained six companies only.

The losses in the 51st Foot were, killed : Lieut. and Adj. John Widdows, Volunteer Purcell and nine Rank and File. Wounded : Lieut.-Colonel Noel Furse, Captains Richard Montgomery, John Blair, Nehemiah Donellan and John Walker, Lieuts. Thomas Green, Peter Gordon and Samuel Knollis, Ensign William Peake, three Sergeants and seventy-five Rank and File. Missing : four Rank and File.

The total casualties in the British contingent totalled eighty-one officers and 1,311 other ranks killed, wounded and missing, or over 29 per cent. of the infantry and artillery engaged.

It should perhaps be said that while there is no official "state" discoverable of the strength of the 51st Regiment on the day of Minden, a return is given in *Tory's Journal* of the numbers by ranks of the six British battalions in the action : in this the total of all ranks is shown as 3,198 only, while the numbers of the 51st are given in detail as one Lieut.-Colonel, one Major, five Captains, sixteen Subalterns, twenty-four Sergeants, and 422 other Ranks, making a total of 470 only. If, however, as is said, Tory was a soldier in the Guards, it is difficult to see how he obtained such detailed information, especially in view of the fact that the Guards did not join the army in Germany for more than a year later. Against Tory's return, and in support of that taken from Westphalen and already quoted, may be mentioned one sent home by Duke Ferdinand on the 26th August,¹ rather more than three weeks after the battle, giving the "state" of the six British Infantry Regiments "with their artillery"—meaning the battalion guns and detachments, and this is as follows :—

	Officers.	N.C. Officers.	Rank and File.
Establishment	232	448	5418
On Command	18	16	62
Sick in Hospital ..	7	11	279
Sick in Quarters ..	3	16	216
Wanting to complete	0	0	456
Effectives	204	405	4405

One man had deserted, one had died, and one had been discharged since a return had last been rendered.

Comparing this return with that of Westphalen it would appear that some drafts at least must have reached the army from England immediately after Minden, otherwise it seems impossible to accept the total numbers given in both ; but Ferdinand was so insistent in his demands for reinforcements on the British Ministry, that he is in

¹ "S. P. Foreign. Mil. Expeditions," 34.

the highest degree unlikely to have overestimated the strength of the six regiments of British Foot under his command.

Among the spoils of war taken from the French were seven Colours, ten Standards and twenty-two guns.

During the action Ensign Robert Sherwood carried the King's Colour of the 51st which was shot to rags, and this officer obtained his lieutenancy *vice* Lieutenant and Adjutant John Widdows killed in action, Sherwood's ensigncy going to Volunteer Gibson, while Sergeant-Major Jarvis from the 20th Foot became Adjutant and was later promoted Ensign. Both Lieutenants Peter Gordon and Samuel Knollis were severely wounded; the latter commanded during the action the Colonel's Company in the place of Captain-Lieutenant Paul Meyer, who was absent on picquet: this officer had exchanged from the 67th Regiment early in the year with Captain-Lieutenant Baldwin. Captain William Baillie commanded the Grenadier Company in the battle.

The news of the victory was brought direct from the field to London by Captain Edward Ligonier, Ferdinand's English aide-de-camp, but he had left the scene so early that he knew few details, and the people of England had to wait to hear all about the battle until the 11th August, when Colonel Fitzroy arrived bearing Ferdinand's despatches. On hearing the completeness of the victory London was illuminated; "I found the town distracted," wrote Walpole, "and at night it was beautiful beyond description." Hawke, guarding the Channel, assembled his fleet off Brest, fired a salute, and sent in a neutral ship with a tactful message that the demonstration was in honour of Ferdinand's success over Contades; extracts were published in the press from the letters which Ferdinand wrote on the 3rd and 4th August to King George and his Ministers, and in which it was said that "the Corps that had most distinguished themselves were the whole of the British Infantry," and that "the English Infantry had performed prodigies of valour."

In an Order of the Day published on the 2nd August, Ferdinand said:

"His Serene Highness orders his greatest thanks to be given the whole army for their bravery and good behaviour yesterday, particularly to the British Infantry and the two battalions of Hanoverian Guards; to all the cavalry of the left wing and to General Wangenheim's Corps, particularly the Regiment of Holstein, the Hessian cavalry, the Hanoverian Regiment du Corps and Hammerstein. The same to all the brigades of heavy artillery."

"His Serene Highness declares publicly that, next to God, he attributes the glory of the day to the intrepidity and extraordinary good behaviour of these troops, which, he assures them, he shall retain the strongest sense



CAPTAIN WILLIAM BAILLIE
Commanded the Grenadier Company, 51st Regiment
at Minden, August 1st, 1759

of as long as he lives ; and if ever upon any occasion he shall be able to serve these brave troops, or any of them in particular, it will give him the utmost pleasure.

" His Serene Highness orders his particular thanks to be likewise given to General Spörcken, the Duke of Holstein, Lieutenant-Generals Imhoff and Orff. His Serene Highness is extremely obliged to the Count of Bückebourg for all his care and trouble in the management of the artillery which was served with great effect ; likewise to the commanding officers of the several brigades of artillery, viz., Colonel Brown, Lieutenant-Colonel Huth, Major Hase, and the three English Captains, Phillips, Drummond and Foy. His Serene Highness thinks himself infinitely obliged to Major-Generals Waldegrave and Kingsley for the great courage and the good order in which they conducted their brigades. His Serene Highness further orders it to be declared to Lieutenant-General the Marquis of Granby that he is persuaded that if he had had the good fortune to have had him at the head of the cavalry of the Right Wing, his presence would have greatly contributed to make the decision of the day more complete and more brilliant. In short, His Serene Highness orders that those of his suite whose behaviour he most admired be named, as the Duke of Richmond, Colonel Fitzroy, Captain Ligonier, Colonel Watson, Captain Wilson, aide-de-camp to Major-General Waldegrave, Adjutant-General Estorff, Bülow, Derenthal, the Count Taube and Malortie. His Serene Highness has much reason to be satisfied with their conduct.

" His Serene Highness desires and orders the Generals of the Army that upon all occasions, when orders are brought to them by his aides-de-camp, they be obeyed punctually and without delay."

On the 3rd August Lord Granby wrote a letter to the Duke of Newcastle in which he said : " All the troops behaved with the utmost bravery, the British Infantry and Artillery have gained the greatest honour. General Waldegrave's behaviour has merited the applause of everybody in the Army deservedly. General Kingsley behaved likewise with the utmost gallantry."

The following is an extract from the Address of the House of Lords presented to the King on the 14th November of this year :

" The memorable Victory gained over the French near Minden cannot but make a deep and lasting impression on every British mind. Whether we consider the great and able conduct of your Majesty's General, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, the valour of your Majesty's troops, the inequality of force or the imminent perils of that important crisis ; the happy deliverance wrought by the action, and the glorious consequences of it, must ever be the subject of our praise and thankfulness."

In the House of Commons the day following an address was also presented, and in it was declared : " Nor can we ever forget that critical, signal, and memorable defeat of the French army near Minden,

so justly the subject of lasting admiration and thankfulness, if we consider the superior numbers of the enemy, the great and able conduct of His Serene Highness, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, or the unconquerable valour of your Majesty's troops."

Many rewards were given to individuals for the services they had rendered at or in connection with the Battle of Minden : Colonel Brudenell was appointed to serve as a Major-General on the Staff in Germany ; Colonel Beckwith was appointed aide-de-camp to Duke Ferdinand ; Colonel Fitzroy and Captain Ligonier, who had brought to London the news of the victory, received promotion and each a grant of £500 ; while Ferdinand himself presented Captain Phillips of the British artillery with a thousand Crowns, and Captains Macbean, Drummond and Foy of the same arm of the service with five hundred Crowns each ; but more than forty years were to elapse before the six regiments of British Infantry, which had borne the burden and endured the chief loss on the day of Minden, were vouchsafed any distinguishing and enduring mark of recognition of the heroism they had displayed.

Here is the letter under which the 51st is entitled, with the other five of the Minden Regiments, to bear the name of the Battle on its Colour :

*Horse Guards,
1st January, 1801.*

Sir,

*To the 12th Foot.
2nd Btn.*

20th Foot.

23rd Foot.

27th Foot.

35th Foot.

51st Foot.

Officer Commanding.

I am directed by His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief to inform you that His Majesty has signified his gracious permission for the Regiment under your command to bear the word Minden in its Colours in Remembrance of the battle of the 1st August, 1759, in which the Regiment so honourably distinguished itself.

I have the honour to be,

*H. Calvert,
A.G.*

The following is a copy of a letter from Lieutenant Hugh Montgomery, 12th Foot, written immediately after the Battle of Minden :—

"Dear Madam,

"The pursuit of the enemy, who have retired with the greatest precipitation, prevents me from giving you so exact an account of the late most glorious victory over the French Army as I would had I almost any leisure. However, here goes as much as I can.

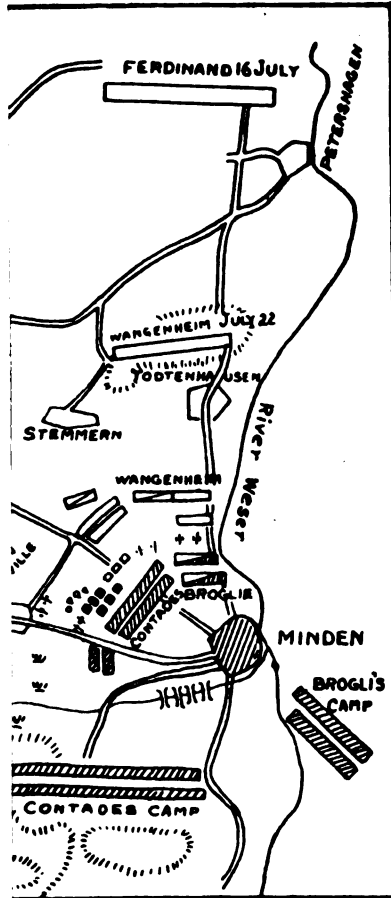
"We marched from our camp between 4 and 5 o'clock in the morning. About 7, drew up in a valley ; from thence marched about 300 yards,

when an 18-pound ball came rolling gently up to us. Now began the most disagreeable march that I ever had in my life, for we advanced more than a quarter of a mile through a most furious fire from a most infernal battery of eighteen 18-pounders, which was at first upon our front, but as we proceeded bore upon our flank, and at last upon our rear. It might be imagined that this cannonade would render the Regiment incapable of bearing the shock of unhurt troops drawn up long before on ground of their own choosing, but firmness and resolution will surmount almost any difficulty. When we got within about 100 yards of the enemy a large body of French cavalry galloped boldly down upon us. These our men, by reserving their fire until they came within 30 yards, immediately ruined, but not without receiving some injury from them, for they rode down two companies on the right of our Regiment, wounded three officers, took one of them prisoner, with our artillery lieutenant, and whipped off the tumbrells. This cost them dear, for it forced many of them into our rear, on whom the men faced about, and five of them did not return. These visitants being thus dismissed, without giving us a moment's time to recover the unavoidable disorder, down came upon us like lightning the glory of France, in the persons of the *Gens d'Armes*. These we almost immediately dispersed, without receiving hardly any mischief from the harmless creatures.

"We now discovered a large body of infantry, consisting of 17 regiments, moving down directly on our flank in column—a very ugly situation—but Stewart's Regiment and ours wheeled and showed them a front, which is a thing not to be expected from troops already twice attacked; but this must be placed to the credit of General Waldegrave and his *aide-de-camp*. We engaged this corps for about 10 minutes, killed them a good many, and, as the song says, the rest they ran away. The next who made their appearance were some regiments of the Grenadiers of France—as fine and terrible-looking fellows as I ever saw. They stood us a tug; notwithstanding we beat them off to a distance, where they galled us much, they having rifled barrels, and our muskets would not reach them. To remedy this we advanced; they took the hint and ran away. Now we were in hopes that we had done enough for one day's work, and that they would not disturb us more; but soon after a very large body of fresh infantry, the last resource of Contades, made the final attempt on us. With them we had a long, but not a very brisk engagement. At last we made them retire almost out of reach, when the three English regiments of the rear line came up and gave them one fire, which sent them off for good and all; but what is wonderful to tell, we ourselves, after all this success, at the very same time retired, but indeed we did not then know that the victory was ours. However, we rallied, but all that could

now be mustered was about 13 files privates, with our Colonel and four other officers, one of whom I was so fortunate as to be. With this remnant we returned again to the charge, but, to our unspeakable joy, no opponents could be found. It is astonishing that this victory was gained by six English Regiments of Foot, without their Grenadiers, unsupported by cavalry or cannon, not even their own battalion guns, in the face of a dreadful battery so near as to tear them with grape-shot, against 40 battalions and 36 squadrons, which is directly the quantity of the enemy which fell to their share. It is true that two Hanoverian Regiments were engaged on the left of the English, but so inconsiderably as to lose only 50 men between them. On the left of the Army the Grenadiers, who now form a separate body, withstood a furious cannonade.

"Of the English there was only killed one captain and one sergeant. Some Prussian Dragoons were engaged and did good service. Our Artillery, which was stationed in different places, also behaved well, but the grand attack, on which depended the fate of the day, fell to the lot of the six English regiments of foot. From this account the Prince might be accused of misconduct for trusting the issue of so great an event to so small a body, but this affair you will have soon enough explained to the disadvantage of a great man, whose easy part, had it been properly acted, must have occasioned to France one of the greatest overthrows it ever met with. The sufferings of our regiment will give you the best notion of the smartness of the action. We actually fought that day not more than 480 privates and 27 officers. Of the first 302 were killed and wounded, and of the latter 18, three lieutenants were killed on the spot, the rest were only wounded, and all of them in a good way except two. Of the officers who escaped there are only four who cannot show some marks of the enemy's good intentions, and as perhaps you may be desirous to know any little risks that I might have run, I will mention those of which I was sensible. At the beginning of the action I was almost knocked off my legs by my three right-hand men, who were killed and drove against me by a cannon ball. The same ball also killed two men close to Ward, whose post was in the rear of my platoon, and in this place I will assure you that he behaved with the greatest bravery, which I suppose you will make known to his father and friends. Some time after I received from a spent ball just such a rap on my collar bone as I have frequently from that once most dreadful weapon, your crooked-headed stick. It just swelled and grew red enough to convince the neighbours that I was not fibbing when I mentioned it. I got another of these also on one of my legs, which gave me about as much pain as would a tap of Miss Mathews' fan. The last and greatest misfortune of all fell to the share of my poor old coat, for a musket ball entered



into the skirt of it and made three holes. I had almost forgot to tell you that my spontoon was shot through a little below my hand. This disabled it, but a French one now does duty in its room. The consequences of this affair are very great—we found by all the papers that the world began to give us up, and the French had swallowed us up in their imaginations. We have now pursued them above 100 miles, with the advanced armies of the Hereditary Prince, Wanganheim and Urff, in our front, of whose success in taking prisoners and baggage, and receiving deserters, Francis Joy will give you a better account than I can at present. They are now entrenching themselves at Cassel, and you may depend upon it that they will not show us their faces again during this campaign. I have the pleasure of being able to tell you that Captain Rainey is well. He is at present in advance with the Grenadiers, plundering French baggage and taking prisoners. I would venture to give him forty ducats for his share of prize money.

“I have now, contrary to my expectations, and in spite of many interruptions, wrote you a long letter. This paper I have carried this week past in my pocket for the purpose, but could not attempt it before. We marched into this camp yesterday evening, and shall quit it in the morning. I wrote you a note, just informing you that I was well, the day after the battle. I hope you will receive it in due time. Be pleased to give my most affectionate duty to my uncles and aunts, my love to Bob Maxwell, Mathews, Nancy, Kitty, etc., and believe me to be, dear Madam, with the greatest affection, your dutiful Son,

Hugh Montgomery.

Camp at Paderborn,

9th August, 1759.

“As a list as long as that of a pedlar would not contain the names of all my friends, and as you know them, I shall not at present make it out, but beg of you to remember me to them everyone.

“The noise of the battle frightened our Sutler’s wife into labour. The next morning she was brought to bed of a son, and we have had him christened by the name of Ferdinand.”

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1760— CORBACH AND WARBURG

V

AN officer who served with the 51st Regiment in the battle of Minden has left behind him an account¹ of his experiences in this campaign and in some of those which followed, but unfortunately it seems that his memoirs were written late in life when time had obliterated any very close recollection of the scenes which he describes. James Callander (later Campbell) was born in October, 1745, and obtained an ensigncy in the 51st Foot, dated 20th March, 1759—when he can have been no more than thirteen and a half years of age—*vice* Brooke, transferred to the 15th Light Dragoons. Such early commissions were in those days not uncommon—a well-known instance is that of young Floyd of Elliott's Light Horse, who was present at Emsdorf when aged only twelve. Callander tells us that his servant, Private Simpson, was killed at Minden “being dreadfully mangled by a cannon-shot across the body.” He also states that “Prince Xavier of Saxony was killed immediately in front of the 51st Regiment, and within a very few yards of the British line.”

Ensign Callander has much to say about this officer; that the Prince rode a piebald horse and “was distinguished by many splendid decorations,” some of which were taken as booty by the men of the 51st and other Regiments. The author's recollection has here played him false, for although Prince Xavier was present in the action, as has been narrated in the previous chapter, he was certainly not killed or even wounded, and we shall hear of him again as the campaign progresses.

Young Callander rode over the field on the afternoon of the 1st August with Pringle of his regiment, and describes some of the terrible sights he witnessed; also how, meeting Lord George Sackville, he asked of him, boylike, “what had become of the Cavalry?” We learn from him that he found the spontoon, then carried by infantry officers, “burdensome,” which is hardly to be wondered considering his age. In the following year Callander exchanged his ensigncy in the 51st for a cornetcy in the 2nd Dragoon Guards, but as we shall see, did not thereby lose his interest in his first regiment and he makes frequent mention of the 51st in his memoirs.

For the main body of the Allied army the 2nd August, the day after the victory, was one devoted to ceremonies of thanksgiving and

¹ *Memoirs of Sir James Campbell of Ardkinglas.*

rejoicing. At nine in the morning a *Te Deum* was sung, followed at five in the afternoon by a parade of the troops and the firing of a *feu de joie*. Measures were taken for the collection of the wounded of both armies and for their dispatch to hospital at Petershagen; for the rendering of lists of casualties; and for the early replacement of gun and musket ammunition expended during the previous day's action.

On this day too the French commandant of Minden wrote to Ferdinand offering to surrender the fortress, which was handed over at noon, its garrison of 3,000 men becoming prisoners of war, and many wounded and a great store of supplies of all kinds falling into the hands of the Allies.

The Hereditary Prince at Gohfeld was now written to and informed that the two great objects in view were the relief of Lippstadt and the re-capture of Münster, that he was to pursue the enemy relentlessly, assured of all possible support by the main army; if the French repassed the Weser they must be headed off from Paderborn, while, if they remained on the further bank, the Allies must seize the passages of the Diemel and endeavour to prevent the enemy gaining Cassel; although if Contades effected his march to that place, a favourable opportunity might then offer for attempting the re-capture of Münster. The main army of the Allies, moving by Bielefeld, expected to reach Paderborn on the 9th August, on which day the Hereditary Prince, marching by Lippspringe, was to arrive there also.

The two French armies fell back at speed, hotly pursued by the force under the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick, and by the 12th August both Contades and de Broglie had effected their junction in the neighbourhood of Cassel; the main allied army, marching *via* Paderborn, crossed the Diemel on the 13th and went into Camp at Erlinghausen on the following day.

The French, still continuing their retreat, left Cassel on the 18th, and on the 24th their Headquarters was at Gross Selheim on the Lahn; while about the same time the allies had possessed themselves of Cassel and had re-commenced the siege of Münster.

During the month of September there were further movements on either side, the French falling back to Giessen and Ferdinand advancing to and taking up a strongly entrenched position at Krofdorf, the two armies remaining practically inactive till the beginning of December. A long rest was greatly needed by the troops among whom dysentery had for some weeks been raging.

The fortress of Münster fell to the Allies on the 20th November, but of the remaining operations of this year's campaign there is not much to be said. Ferdinand moved his headquarters early in

January, 1760, from Krofddorf to Marburg, and shortly after both the opposing armies withdrew into winter quarters. The French headquarters was at Frankfort, the bulk of the army holding the line of the Neckar, the Main and the Lahn. Of the allied forces, the British troops were sent into the bishopric of Osnabrück, while the security of the whole army was ensured by a defensive line running from Dillenburg, through Marburg, Hersfeld, Vacha and along the river Werra to Treffurt. The 51st Foot appears to have been cantoned during at least part of the winter in the villages of Caldern and Brückerhof.

So soon as the battle of Minden was over, and at frequent intervals during the winter of 1759—1760, Duke Ferdinand renewed his appeals to the English Ministry for reinforcements, both in the way of drafts to make up for the casualties incurred during the last campaign, and of more and fresh troops. These appeals were strongly supported by Lord Granby, who had been appointed Commander-in-Chief in the place of Lord George Sackville, but while a majority of the Cabinet seem to have been in favour of acceding to these demands, Pitt, advised by Lord Ligonier, refused to hearken to them, since at that time the threat of a French invasion seemed one that could not be disregarded and in the face of which England must not further be denuded of trained men. Then too in the autumn of 1759 France had made overtures for peace, induced thereto by the solid successes which England had won in Germany, in America, and in the Indies, and by the present parlous condition of the French finances. Negotiations were protracted until May, 1760, when they broke down and the war began again in the Old and New World.

The Allies had moved none too soon into winter quarters, for the weather was very trying: the latter part of 1759 was very wet, the camps were in a terrible condition, but later the cold became intense and the winter proved to be one of the most severe on record, sentries were found frozen to death on their posts, and famine and sickness moved everywhere over the desolated country. Many officers proceeded home on leave—Granby, Waldegrave and Kingsley, the last-named, who was in bad health, not returning to Germany, but the majority of the officers were back with the army by the middle of April, 1760, and with them came two new commanders, Major-Generals Howard and Honeywood taking the places of Kingsley and Granville Elliott.

Granby had scarcely arrived back at his headquarters before the English Cabinet had finally come to the determination substantially to reinforce the army under his immediate command, and eventually the number of British regiments in Germany was more than doubled, the corps reaching Germany during the first half of 1760 amounting

to seven regiments of cavalry and six battalions of infantry.¹ In the Newcastle Papers in the British Museum there is a return giving the strength of the whole of the British troops serving in Germany when the reinforcements should have arrived :

Cavalry	.. .. .	4524
Infantry	.. .. .	12000
Highlanders—two battalions, Keith's and Campbell's		1600
Artillery	.. .. .	526

All the new regiments, with the exception of the 15th Light Dragoons, had joined the Headquarters about Paderborn by the 29th June. On the arrival of the six new battalions of infantry a second Grenadier Battalion was formed out of their Grenadier companies, and was placed under the command of Major Peter Daulhat of the 33rd Foot.

Daulhat, being senior to Maxwell, the former's Grenadier battalion became No. 1 and contained the Grenadier companies of the 5th, 8th, 11th, 24th, 33rd and 50th Regiments. Maxwell's No. 2 Battalion, retained the Grenadier Companies of the Minden Regiments, *viz.*, the 12th, 20th, 23rd, 25th, 37th and 51st.

In Lord Granby's orders in the British Museum (Add. MMS. 28855) there is a long statement giving the composition of the Staff of the British Forces in Germany, but it will be sufficient here to say that while, prior to the arrival of the reinforcements from England, Major-General Thomas Brudenell (51st) commanded the 2nd Infantry Brigade containing the 20th, 25th and 51st Regiments, this arrangement was changed on the new regiments joining the army, and the number of infantry brigades was, of necessity, increased from two to three. Major-General Brudenell commanded now the Third Infantry Brigade which consisted of the 8th, 20th, 25th and 50th, while the 51st Foot remained in the Second Brigade which now contained the 11th, 23rd, 33rd and 51st, the Brigadier being Major-General Griffin; this officer's Brigade-Major was Captain Paine (71st), his Aides-de-Camp Lieuts. Keen (5th Foot) and Wallop (18th Light Dragoons).

The Brigade-Major of the Third Infantry Brigade was Captain Dundas (8th Foot), and General Brudenell's Aide-de-Camp was Cornet Brudenell (2nd Dragoon Guards).

Among other appointments of regimental interest made in the same order are those of Captain William Roy and Lieutenant Robert Bissett,² both of the 51st, to be Assistant Quarter-masters General.

¹ 2nd, 6th and 7th Dragoon Guards, the 1st, 7th and 11th Dragoons and 15th Light Dragoons, the 5th, 8th, 11th, 24th, 33rd and 50th Foot; Major-General Griffin came out with these.

² This officer was called by Lord George Sackville as witness for the defence at Sackville's Court-Martial in April, 1760, while Roy's plan of Minden was laid before the court.

Major-General Brudenell's appointment to serve in that rank in Germany was notified in the following letter : (see P.R.O., W.O. 4/59).

“ War Office, 12th Sept., 1759.

“ Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you that the King has been pleased to appoint you to serve as Major-General with one Aide-de-Camp, and am to signify to you, it is His Majesty's Pleasure that you do obey such orders as you shall receive from His Majesty, the Commander-in-Chief, or any other your Superior Officer.

I am, Sir, etc.,

Barrington.”

“ Major-General Thos. Brudenell.”

During this winter the Merchants of the City of London sent out “ Comforts ” to the troops, and “ certain charitably disposed persons ” collected the sum of £500 for the relief of the widows and orphans of soldiers.

By the beginning of June, 1760, when active operations were resumed, Duke Ferdinand was able to dispose of an army of close upon 80,000 men, contained in ninety-eight battalions and 112 squadrons, with 146 guns, exclusive of those on charge of infantry battalions. The French army had been gathering slowly during the winter, drafts had been supplied to make good wastage, and six battalions of the French and Swiss Guards took the field for the campaign about to open. By the end of May, de Broglie had available an army of a nominal strength of 150,000, contained in 163 battalions and 167 squadrons ; and it is probable that when the French garrisons for the strong places on the Rhine and the Main are deducted from the above total, the French commander could dispose of 100,000 infantry and artillery, 24,000 cavalry and from 5000 to 6000 light troops.¹

It had been decided at Versailles, rather in opposition to the wishes of de Broglie, that this campaign should open in Hesse, and the commencement of operations found the French army divided into three unequal parts. The left wing under Saint Germain was stationed on the left bank of the Rhine about Düsseldorf, the right under Prince Xavier was on the Main about Gmünden, while by very far the larger portion remained at de Broglie's immediate disposal.

To meet the movements of the French Ferdinand early in May put his army in motion towards Hesse, and by the 19th of the month the main body—sixty-seven battalions, seventy-eight squadrons and

¹ These figures are taken, for the Allies, from the “ German Official History.” Vol. 12, pp. 22-24, and for the French from Waddington's “ Guerre de Sept Ans.” Vol. 4, p. 170.

some hundred guns—was assembled about Fritzlar behind the Eder : the headquarters was at Wavern and here the army remained for some weeks.

There seems no particular object to be gained by describing in any detail all the manœuvring in which during the next few weeks both armies engaged, and it will probably suffice merely to mention those places where the 51st was to be found at different times and the actions in which it took part. Thus when at the end of June the Allied Army left the neighbourhood of Fritzlar, a small body of troops was employed to maintain communications with General Kielmansegg ; this body was commanded by Major-General Griffin and included in it were the Carabiniers (later relieved by the 1st Dragoon Guards), the 50th and 51st Regiments. They occupied a place called Walthersbrück.

The relations between Saint Germain and de Broglie were not at this time especially cordial, and the former went so far as to send in to Versailles the resignation of his command, but pending its acceptance he proceeded to carry out certain orders which he had received from de Broglie, and moved in the direction of Corbach where it had been arranged that his junction with de Broglie should be effected not later than the 10th July. The news of this proposed concentration came to Ferdinand through a captured despatch, and he hoped by moving rapidly on Corbach to forestall the plans of the Marshal and bring his schemes to nought. On the morning of the 8th July, therefore, the Hereditary Prince marched towards Corbach with a force including General Griffin's troops, while, in the hope of anticipating the French, General Lückner was hurried on with his light troops, and was in time to reach and occupy the high ground about Corbach on the afternoon of the 9th, just as a body of French under Clausen, and accompanied by de Broglie in person, appeared in the vicinity. Saint Germain was still at some distance and de Broglie determined not to attack before the morrow.

Ferdinand had followed the Hereditary Prince on the same afternoon and marched in six columns, preceded by Waldegrave's corps, reaching a place called Wildungen during the night of the 8th—9th ; while at daybreak on the 10th the Hereditary Prince pushed on towards Corbach directing his Brigadiers to follow him. One of these was Major-General Howard, with the 5th and 24th Foot, the two Grenadier battalions of Maxwell and Daulhat, and a Light Artillery Brigade under Captain Charlton. At 2 a.m. on the 10th the main body of the Allies resumed its march, but the country was found to be very difficult for the movement of a large force, and progress was slow, but word of the approach of the main army was sent on to the Hereditary Prince then in possession of the heights of Corbach.

Neither the Prince nor de Broglie, however, seem at first to have formed any really accurate estimate of the forces in their front : while the former knew that he was in the presence of a considerable body of the enemy, he had no idea how over-poweringly strong that body was, and de Broglie, though he had correctly inferred that he was opposed by a detachment only, neither knew nor took steps to find out that his adversary was not merely weak in numbers but had no support *immediately* at hand.

The Hereditary Prince now disposed his force in two bodies as under : seven battalions and seven squadrons under Kielmansegg were told off to the defence of the wood to the east of Corbach—a wood divided into two portions by an open ravine ; while Major-General Griffin with seven battalions and four squadrons occupied the heights south of the wood as far as a Watch Tower, near to which Charlton's guns were posted.

De Broglie proposed to attack the allied right for the reason that the ground there seemed more favourable, and also because Saint Germain's advance was coming up on this flank. The attack was here begun by two infantry brigades, ten squadrons of carabiniers and eight guns, supported on their arrival by two of Saint Germain's brigades. The battle that now developed was wholly confined to wood fighting, and the French, greatly outnumbering the Allies, gained some initial success against Kielmansegg ; about mid-day, however, reinforcements reached the allies and the French were checked. De Broglie seems now to have imagined that the whole allied army was reaching the scene and he decided to break off the action ; he had actually issued orders to this effect when he realized the true state of affairs and ordered the attack to be renewed.

Kielmansegg was violently assailed in front and flank while his guns were overpowered by the twenty-four now in action against them. Five of his seven battalions had been posted in the wood, had experienced considerable loss, and some of these began to fall back ; the allied guns could not be withdrawn owing to the losses among the teams, and thirteen guns, exclusive of three battalion guns belonging to two German regiments, fell into the enemy's hands. Nine of the thirteen belonged to Charlton's brigade.

The 1st and 3rd Dragoon Guards now made a most gallant and opportune charge, during which the Hereditary Prince who rode with them was wounded in the shoulder. "I was deeply impressed on this occasion," wrote Callander¹, "with the steadiness and discipline of my old regiment, the 51st, in which I had served at Minden. In the course of this retreat this regiment occupied a rising ground,

¹ "Memoirs of Sir James Campbell." Vol. 1, p. 49.

which, from the enclosed state of the country, drew upon them almost the whole of the enemy's cannonade; while the distance was so great that they could not return a single musket shot with effect. The heaviness and severity of the fire will be appreciated by military men when I mention that the 51st on this occasion lost, by round shot alone, upwards of sixty men, besides four or five officers. The temper and firmness with which they received this destructive visitation, while it evinces the highest principles of courage and discipline, appears to me to have been beyond all praise."

On the 14th July, Granby wrote home two accounts of the action at Corbach, the one to Newcastle, the other to Lord Ligonier: in the former¹ he said that the "two battalions of infantry, Hodgson's and Cornwallis'," (5th and 24th) "under General Howard, and the two, Carr's and Brudenell's" (50th and 51st) "under General Griffin, though not engaged, have gained the greatest honour by their steadfastness in the retreat. General Lückner says they, notwithstanding a very severe cannonade, marched as if on the parade." In his letter² to Lord Ligonier Granby mentions only the cavalry; Granby, it may be pointed out, was not himself present at Corbach having been left behind in charge of troops remaining at Sachsenhausen when Ferdinand advanced to Wildungen.

Two very gratifying announcements appear in Duke Ferdinand's Orders³: under date of the 12th July we read that, "A report having been made to H. S. H. that in the affair of the day before yesterday Kerr's (sic) and Brudenell's Regiments perfectly answered his good opinion of them, he therefore desires and orders that they receive his thanks, and that they be acquainted how much he is satisfied and pleased with their good conduct."

Then on the 17th we find it stated that "H.S.H. by no means imputes the loss of the British cannon on the 10th to want of conduct in Captain Charlton. He is on the contrary by the reports made to him much pleased at his attempts to save them."

The casualties among the French at Corbach amounted to 819 of all ranks killed and wounded, those of the Allies to twenty-seven officers and 797 non-commissioned officers and men. Of these the British had one officer killed and four wounded, while among other ranks there were sixteen killed, twenty-five wounded, and 102 missing. Of the 51st Regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Noel Furry was killed, "his head," wrote one who was present, "was shot off"; eight privates were also killed, Ensign Gibson and seven of other ranks were wounded and one man was taken prisoner.

¹ "Add. MMS." 32908.

² "Rutland MMS." Vol. 2, p. 219.

³ A MS. Copy of these Orders is in the R.U.S.I. Library.

The casualties were thus distributed among the "other ranks" in the three arms :

Artillery, 3 killed, 3 wounded and 3 missing.

Cavalry, 3 " 8 " " 79 "

Infantry, 10 " 14 " " 20 " 1

The other three officers wounded belonged to the 1st Dragoon Guards, Royal Artillery and 50th Foot^a respectively.

Of the death of Colonel Furse we read in the *Memoirs of Sir James Campbell* that "for the first time in his life on the eve of an engagement he seemed extremely pensive and dull ; and on being rallied on the subject by some of the gentlemen present, he answered, 'I don't know how it is, but I think I shall be killed to-day.' The cannonade having just begun, he mounted his horse and rode up to the front of the regiment, where he had been but a very short time when his head was carried off by a round shot."

Lieut.-Colonel Furse was succeeded as Lieut.-Colonel of the 51st by Major Peter Daulhat of the 33rd Foot, at the time commanding one of the two British Grenadier Battalions : Major Hildebrand Oakes was transferred from the 51st to the 33rd, and the command of Daulhat's grenadiers was, for some time at least, taken over by Lieut.-Colonel Lord George Lennox of the 33rd Foot.

One of the main, and to Ferdinand the most welcome, results of the receipt in England of the news of Corbach, was the decision of the Cabinet to send further reinforcements to the British army in Germany. At the end of July or beginning of August, Granby received a batch of letters from Ministers informing him that three battalions of the Guards under Major-General Coesar were to embark "with the utmost expedition." There was on this occasion surprisingly little delay ; the transports sailed from the Nore on the 28th July, and the Guards finally joined the Allied Army on the 25th August.

Meanwhile the last of the cavalry reinforcements, the 15th Light Dragoons, had arrived in Germany, and this young regiment, then little more than a year in existence, immortalized itself in the extraordinary action at Emsdorf on the 16th July, when marching from Bremen to join the main army.

De Broglie made little or no attempt to follow up the Allies after the action at Corbach, and for a fortnight Ferdinand maintained his position at Sachsenhausen ; he then fell back to Wolfshagen, thence

¹ These figures are taken, for the French, from "Waddington," Vol. 4, p. 199, for the Allies in general, from the "German Official History," Vol. 12, p. 335, and for the British, from "S.P. For. Mil. Expeditions," 38.

^a Both "Westphalen" and "S.P. For. Mil. Expeditions," 38, give two officers of the 50th as wounded ; one only, however, Lieut. Cathcart, is mentioned anywhere by name.

on the 26th to Hohenkirchen, and on the day following to the plains of Kalle where the army encamped—the right near Schachten and the left extending towards Wilhelmstahl. Granby was at Schachten with the Inniskillings and 10th Dragoons under General Elliott, and had also with him four Hanoverian battalions under General Scheele, and the 20th and 50th Foot under Major-General Brudenell.

At this period de Broglie (Soubise had gone back to France) and Ferdinand were manœuvring for the possession of Cassel, but the Frenchman was so very much the stronger that he was always in a position to outflank the Allies.

Ferdinand now saw that French pressure must shortly oblige him to evacuate Hesse, but an opportunity seemed suddenly to offer for cutting off an isolated French detachment under du Muy, and he hoped that, provided the Allies could cross the Diemel in force and attack du Muy before his chief realized what was taking place, it might be possible to inflict a crushing defeat upon this detachment and even as a consequence regain Hesse.

Du Muy was encamped on the north side of the Diemel on the heights which extend from Warburg nearly to Ossendorf, ending in a very outstanding hill to the east of the last-named place. The position gave a good view over the country to the north and east, but it had little depth, thus rendering difficult any movement of troops: the ground fell steeply to the south-west, where ran the River Diemel from 60-75 feet broad, fordable in several places and with bridges at Warburg and Germete.

The Hereditary Prince reached the ground on the 30th July and rode forward to the hill called the Desenberg; he knew the neighbourhood well since his Headquarters had been at Warburg during the past winter. Having made a careful reconnaissance, he resolved to attack and communicated his intention to Ferdinand, who concurred. Later in the day he again reconnoitred the position, and then decided to make his main attack against the enemy's left, seizing a height which seemed to be unoccupied between the river and the hill previously mentioned, and sending a force round the enemy's flank while keeping the French front and right amused. It was decided that the out-flanking movement should be made by night. Ferdinand resolved to put his whole force across the Diemel and ordered the Hereditary Prince not to begin his movement until the main body had passed over. Ferdinand marched off at 9 p.m., crossed the Diemel during the night of the 30th-31st and reached Körbecke on the morning of the 31st.

The Prince moved out on his outflanking march in two parallel columns at 7 a.m. on the 31st under cover of a thick fog. The right column under General Hardenburg, and with which were Maxwell's

and Daulhat's Grenadiers and Keith's and Campbell's Highlanders under Colonel Beckwith, with the 1st and 7th Dragoons, moved on Ossendorf, while the march of the left column under General von Zastrow was directed on a village near to that place called Menne. The Prince had with him something over 14,500 men distributed in twenty-four battalions and twenty-two squadrons.

Du Muy had every reason to expect to be attacked, for he was well aware of the recent movements of the Allies, but his position was not well chosen, since its character made retreat difficult, and even risky; there was much dead ground in front of it, the left flank was but thinly occupied, and at least one important height was undefended. He had with him anything between 18,000 and 20,000 men, but most of these had only recently come up after a long and harassing march and were in consequence imperfectly acquainted with the ground. His cavalry was mainly placed in the centre of the position where the ground was flat and open, and his guns were disposed in five batteries on the hill to the east of Ossendorf.

The two outflanking columns pursued their march unopposed under cover of the fog, and about midday the one on the right began to deploy near Ossendorf, the French light troops falling back from that village. On the head of the left column reaching the wood near Menne, two of its guns were placed on some rising ground and began to fire upon the enemy's left, drawing a fierce reply from the French guns. These did not at first open on the right column, and when they did so their fire was ineffective.

The twenty-two allied squadrons formed up in rear of the infantry.

The right column, moving on, gained the foot of the Heinberg, a narrow ridge, surmounted by a tower, on the bank of the Diemel. This hill the enemy had omitted to occupy, despite the fact that it commanded their left and overlooked their rear. The advance of the allied column—twenty-four British Grenadiers—followed by two light guns, gained the ridge and was here joined by the Hereditary Prince in person; the French now, seeing their danger, sent first one, and then a second and a third brigade, to recapture the Heinberg. The four-and-twenty British grenadiers, however, held their ground, and the two guns, which had now reached the summit of the hill, opened fire, but so narrow was the ridge that one gun, recoiling, rolled backwards into the Diemel. Although the remainder of Maxwell's and Daulhat's grenadier battalions had now come up, the enemy was by far the stronger, and the issue was in doubt until, more guns coming to the front, these were so placed as to take the French in flank. Three German battalions had also by this arrived in line, and the left column had reached the scene of action.

Maxwell deployed on the hill slope to the right of the Tower and was engaged with the Regiment of Bourbonnais which he had forced back, taking two guns ; but Daulhat's men were temporarily checked by the attack of the Regiment La Couronne, thus leaving Maxwell's flank exposed to a concerted attack by two French regiments. He must have lost very heavily had he not hastily withdrawn his men down the hill, re-ascended it at another point, and, now supporting Daulhat, the two battalions forced the enemy down to the Diemel. Here the 1st and 7th British dragoons fell upon them and did great execution.

While these operations were in progress the main allied army under Ferdinand had left Körbecke, but when halted about 12-30 p.m., heard the sound of heavy firing, and Granby was ordered to hurry on with the British cavalry and two light artillery brigades under Phillips. Behind them marched the infantry, delayed by the intense heat and the high crops that everywhere covered the ground.

Granby came on at a hard trot and gained some high ground whence the scene of action was visible, and the French, fearing Ferdinand's main body was at hand, prepared to retreat. Granby quickened the pace, arrived near Menne, formed line of battle on the march, and swept down upon the enemy in two lines—fourteen squadrons in front and eight in rear—Granby leading the first line in front of the centre of the Blues—his own regiment.

The British cavalry got well home and did tremendous execution, while Phillips' guns drove up on to the high ground near Warburg and scourged the masses of fugitives, horse and foot.

Du Muy fell back, tried without much success to rally his men to the south of the Diemel, and then retreated to Volksmissen, pursued by Granby's horsemen as far as the heights of Welda.

The Allies captured seventy-eight officers and 2,100 men with ten Colours, twelve guns, twenty-eight ammunition wagons and much baggage, while du Muy in his despatch of the 13th August put his losses at 4,203.

The Allies lost sixty-six officers and 1173 men killed and wounded, the casualties being mainly confined to the Cavalry, the two British Grenadier battalions, and three German infantry regiments ; the British suffered a loss in all ranks of 132 killed, 399 wounded and fifty-two missing.¹

The 51st Regiment had in its Grenadier Company under Captain Franklin Kirby—the Battalion companies not being engaged—nine privates killed, Lieutenant Richard Warburton, one non-commissioned officer and twenty-two privates wounded. Lieutenant

¹ The distribution of the losses by corps is given in the "London Gazette" of 19th August, 1760.

Warburton was wounded by a musket shot in the leg which had to be amputated, but the ligatures giving way he unfortunately bled to death next day.

On the night of the action the main allied army camped on the northern bank of the Diemel on the high ground to the east and west of Warburg.

It is perhaps only natural, remembering the inaction of the British cavalry at Minden, that in the letters and orders which were written or published after the battle at Warburg we find more mention of the behaviour and influence on the result of the fight of the cavalry than therein appears of the infantry battalions engaged.

Granby, writing on the 1st August to Lord Holderness, tells him something of the fight and adds: "The army was at this time marching with the greatest diligence to attack the enemy in front, but the infantry could not get up in time, General Waldegrave, at the head of the British, pressed their march as much as possible; no troops could show more eagerness to get up than they showed. Many of the men, from the heat of the weather and over-straining themselves to get on through morassy and very difficult ground, suddenly dropped down on their march."

On the same day Ferdinand published an Order in which, after specially eulogizing the cavalry, he said: "The brave corps of Grenadiers, who so much contributed to the glorious success of the day, receives by this the justest praises due to them. His Serene Highness cannot enough acknowledge how much esteem and regard he has for them. He orders his best thanks to Lieutenant-Colonel Beckwith and Major Maxwell, and also to the three captains of the British artillery, Phillips, Macbean and Stephens, who so well managed their artillery. All the regiments under the command of the Hereditary Prince and General Spörcken, from the generals down to the private men, are particularly thanked by H.S.H. for the good conduct and courage with which they fought yesterday."

On the 3rd August we find the following in orders: "Lord Granby had the utmost satisfaction in reporting to His Majesty the gallant behaviour of the troops on the 31st July, and at the same time that he returns both officers and men his sincerest thanks for it, he is to acquaint them from H.S.H. that he every hour hears of so many brave actions that it is impossible for him to express his thanks personally to everybody, but he hopes all will believe they have in his opinion the greatest degree of merit."

King George sent a message to Duke Ferdinand, which was published in orders on the 23rd August: "You will be pleased to testify to those brave troops that so well executed your orders that their good conduct gives me the most real pleasure, and that their

bravery authorizes me to hope that by God's assistance the designs of my enemies will be frustrated."

There was much joy and excitement over the victory in England, where, so it was said, as much powder was burnt in celebrating as had been expended in securing it; and the thanks of the King and Nation were conveyed to Lord Granby and his troops in a letter from Holderness of the 12th August. "The King," he wrote, "has the greatest satisfaction in the gallant behaviour of his British troops on the 31st past. For though the cavalry only, and some Grenadiers and Highlanders who were actually engaged, had an opportunity of distinguishing themselves eminently, yet the zeal and spirit shown by the infantry in pressing their march in the manner you describe, with the hope of engaging the enemy, is very praiseworthy."

THE BATTLE OF KLOSTER KAMPEN —THE HESSE EXPEDITION

August 1760 to April 1761

VI

THE general effect of the victory at Warburg was discounted by the successes which the French obtained in other parts of this theatre of war. Cassel, the defences of which were incomplete, was somewhat over-hastily abandoned on the 30th July on the approach of a large French force under Prince Xavier; about the same time Göttingen and Eimbeck fell into the enemy's hands; while on the 10th August, the town and fortress of Ziegenhain surrendered to the French general, De Stainville.

On the 3rd August, 1760, Lord Granby fell back across the Diemel from his advanced position at Welda and rejoined the main army, and for the greater part of this month the positions of the opposing armies were as follows:—De Broglie was at Ober Ostingen with his left near Corbach; du Muy was at Erlinghausen; while Prince Xavier was between Münden and Göttingen. The Allied Headquarters was at Meerhoff between Körbecke and Warburg; Wangenheim was astride the Weser near Beverungen; while Lückner on the right bank held Prince Xavier in check. At this time—about the 6th August—Major-General Brudenell seems to have been commanding the 8th, 20th, 25th and 50th Regiments, at Meerhoff, moving with them three days later to Warburg.

Towards the end of August, de Broglie broke up his camp and transferred his Headquarters to Immenhausen, but soon began to experience great difficulty in supplying his army from the surrounding country, by reason of the proximity of the Hereditary Prince; strong forces under de Stainville and du Muy were sent out against him, and the Prince fell back on Warburg. He was, however, determined to take advantage of the feeling of security which his speedy retirement had engendered in the minds of the French commanders, and made his plans for attempting the capture of the town of Zierenburg, then held by some thirty-six officers and 1,100 men of the *Volontaires de Clermont*, under Brigadier Nordmann and Colonel Commeyras. The town was situated on the banks of the River Warne, in a deep valley between the hills known as Guttenberg and Scharenberg, and at that date was encircled by a semi-ruinous rampart or wall; it was distant only about a league from du Muy's camp.

THE BATTLE OF KLOSTER KAMPEN

The Hereditary Prince moved out from Warburg between eight and nine on the night of the 5th September, taking with him the 20th Foot, Maxwell's Grenadiers, Keith's Highlanders, three German battalions, and ten squadrons of cavalry, among which latter were two squadrons each of the Inniskillings and Greys. The force was accompanied by Major-General Griffin, and Colonels Boyd, Beckwith and Lord George Lennox. The watchword for the night was "Wolfe," a name, as a contemporary writer remarks, "as dear to the English as baneful to the French."

The Prince left his cavalry in rear near Listingen to cover his retreat; he dropped a Hanoverian battalion and three guns at the Castle of Maltzburg, and at Lahr and in the neighbouring woods he posted a Hessian battalion; his light troops, horse and foot, he sent on to turn the town and give warning of the approach of reinforcements from du Muy; while he moved direct on Zierenburg with the rest of his force. The muskets of the infantry were not loaded—the Prince intended that the night's work should be done with the bayonet.

The attack was directed as follows: on arrival at Lahr, Maxwell's Grenadiers inclined to the left and moved along the foot of the Schartenberg in order to try and gain possession of the Dürrenberg Gate, situated on the further side of the town, *vis.*, that nearest to du Muy's camp. The 20th Foot and Keith's Highlanders followed the main road leading to the Warburg Gate by which the 20th were to enter, while the Highlanders were to endeavour to effect an entry by a breach believed to exist in the wall further to the right.

At 2 a.m. a small advanced post of the enemy was met and opened fire, when the 20th, led by Beckwith, pushed on and brushing aside all opposition entered the gate with the men of the retreating post, overpowered the guard, and stormed on through the sleeping town to the further gate to let in Maxwell's men. The Highlanders seem to have failed to find the breach and followed the 20th in by the gate, and these, now meeting the Grenadiers, the two bodies drove the French to the Market Place and Churchyard, where for a time they rallied, but eventually Nordmann and Commeyras surrendered. The firing continued, however, for some little time from the windows of the houses where the French continued to defend themselves, and from side streets, and the casualties inflicted by the British were heavy in proportion to the numbers engaged; while in the darkness and confusion it was no easy matter to distinguish friend from foe, and General Griffin was wounded in the breast by the bayonet of one of his own men. The allied casualties were four killed and nine wounded.

The whole affair did not occupy much more than an hour, and by 7 a.m. on the 6th September, the Hereditary Prince and his force were back at Warburg, carrying with them nearly 450 prisoners and having inflicted upon the French a loss of 250 killed and wounded.

In the accounts published great credit was given to Colonel Beckwith, Major Maxwell and two officers of the 20th Foot, but Captain Picton, 12th Foot, was the only other *Grenadier* specially mentioned. "The surprise," wrote an officer of the staff, "was so perfect a one that they had little more to do than stab people in their beds, which disagreeable scene continued as long as it was prudent to stay." Of the troops and their leaders Granby wrote on the 9th September to the Duke of Newcastle: "Never anything by all accounts was better conducted than the whole affair. The troops behaved with the utmost spirit and discipline. Major Maxwell and all his officers acted with their usual gallantry, and I am informed that Captain Grey, who commanded Kingsley's battalion, distinguished himself as a most brave and able officer. He is strongly recommended to me by General Griffin, who was himself present and received a slight wound in his breast from a bayonet."

The following appeared in Ferdinand's orders of the 7th September: "H.S.H. orders it to be published to the Army that H.S.H. the Hereditary Prince has struck a fine stroke which has cost the enemy dear, having surprised and attacked a considerable corps of their troops in the night of the 5th inst. in the town of Zierenburg, by which thirty-seven officers and 380 men were made prisoners and have been conducted to Warburg, with at least an equal number of killed and wounded that were left at Zierenburg. Two pieces of cannon were likewise taken. According to the account H.S.H. the Hereditary Prince has given of this action to the Duke he cannot enough commend and express his satisfaction of the bravery and good conduct of the troops employed on this occasion. Major-General Griffin particularly greatly distinguished himself and was wounded, as did Kingsley's at the head of which was Lieutenant-Colonel Beckwith. Likewise Maxwell's battalion of Grenadiers with which was Lieutenant-Colonel Boyd, and the Prussian Hussars led by Major Bülow. Lord George Lennox who was there as a volunteer and had his horse wounded, and Captain Courtney, of Kingsley's regiment who commanded the advanced guard. Of all these H.S.H. the Prince has given the greatest encomiums. H.S.H. the Duke is charmed with a fresh opportunity this gives him of being able to acquaint these brave troops in general and everybody in particular (who have given such real proofs of their valour) of his perfect satisfaction and most cordial thanks."

THE BATTLE OF KLOSTER KAMPEN

Within a very few days of this smart affair Duke Ferdinand drew up a plan for attacking the French army at Immenhausen, a position which was not naturally strong and all the approaches to which were thoroughly well known to the Allied Commander; but this scheme had to be abandoned owing to the sudden retirement of de Broglie from Immenhausen to an entrenched camp almost under the guns of Cassel.

On the 27th September, Ferdinand wrote to Lord Holdernessee an appreciation of the situation; after mentioning the different towns in occupation of the French, he pointed out that they were complete masters of the country watered by the rivers Fulda, Werra and Eder, and that it appeared to him there were three ways in which they might possibly be dispossessed of it. De Broglie might be attacked in his position, *or* his communications with Frankfort might be cut, *or* by waiting until he had eaten bare the country when he must withdraw. The first, Ferdinand rejected as too costly, the second had already been unsuccessfully attempted, while the third would take up too much time. He therefore expressed himself as in favour of moving to the Lower Rhine and attempting the capture of Wesel—when de Broglie would certainly move in order to prevent such a catastrophe.

The preparations for this enterprise were considerably protracted and were conducted with the utmost secrecy; large magazines of food supplies and war material were formed at Lippstadt and Münster, and the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick was appointed to command five divisions which were detailed for the expedition. Of these five, the First and Second, under Generals Hardenberg and Breidenbach, were wholly composed of German troops; the Fifth was also German in composition, but General Kielmansegg who led it, was given a squadron of the Greys. The Third Division, under General Waldegrave, contained the 20th and 25th Foot, two squadrons from each of the 1st and 6th Dragoons, and two battalions of Hessians under Major-General Elliott; while its other brigade, commanded by Major-General Griffin, contained Lennox's (late Daulhat's) and Maxwell's Grenadiers, Keith's and Campbell's Highlanders and two squadrons of German cavalry. The Fourth Division was a weak one and was commanded by Major-General Howard, who had under him the 11th, 23rd, 33rd and 51st Foot, with one squadron of the 10th Dragoons, also one German battalion and one squadron of German cavalry.

The divisions commenced their march at intervals between the 23rd September and the second week in October, the Fourth and Fifth not reaching the neighbourhood of Wesel until the second half of that month, but the investment of the town began on the 30th September, when the First and Second Divisions sat down before it.

The Prince, who was to command the force, and the Duke of Bückeburg, who was to be in charge of the siege operations, left Warburg in company on the 25th September.

The force detailed was a large one—in all forty-four battalions and thirty squadrons, with nearly thirty siege guns of varying calibre, while the garrison of Wesel numbered some 2,500 men only under a General Castella; but the Wesel of those days was regarded as a first-class fortress by reason of the strength of its works and the favourable nature of its position at the junction of the Rhine and Lippe, while it was certain that on any threat against it de Broglie would detach large forces for its relief.

The secret of Ferdinand's plans and preparations had been so well kept, that it was not until the day before the investment of Wesel commenced that the French commander knew what was passing, when he at once took steps to save the situation. General de Castries, a Lieutenant-General of only thirty-three years of age, was placed in charge of a relief force, which it was intended should, by the middle of October, amount to 32,000—33,000 men contained in fifty-five battalions and forty-two squadrons.

For some reason which is obscure the Hereditary Prince made no attempt to carry Wesel by a *coup de main*—considering the weakness of the garrison and the extent of the perimeter such an attempt might have been successful; but he decided upon a formal siege, the operations connected with which were greatly retarded by the bad weather and the consequent heavy condition of the roads. Then the Rhine and the Lippe were both in flood and communication between the different bodies engaged in the siege became difficult and precarious.

There seems no particular object in describing in detail the operations of a siege in which none of the British battalions with the force took any part, and it may be enough to say that so much time was lost that de Castries, who displayed considerable energy, arrived in the vicinity of Wesel on the 14th October with thirty-two battalions and thirty-six squadrons, and threw reinforcements into the place. The Hereditary Prince seems to have in a measure been taken by surprise; he had not expected de Castries to come up so soon, his intelligence was evidently badly served, and it was only when reconnoitring in person on the western bank of the river that the Prince discovered that the French advance had practically reached his outposts. He now sent word to Howard to hasten the march of his division.

De Castries at first intended to make an immediate attack upon the Prince's force covering the siege, but his troops were exhausted by their hurried march, and their commander confined himself

THE BATTLE OF KLOSTER KAMPEN

to improving his communications and to the making of bridges, while he drew up his troops in readiness either to deliver or accept battle. In his first line were the four infantry brigades of Normandie, Tour du Pin, Alsace and Auvergne, containing eighteen battalions under Generals Ségur and d'Auuet; the cavalry was in the second line and the Gendarmes formed the reserve.

During the afternoon of the 15th, while the light troops on either side were bickering along the canal, the Hereditary Prince reconnoitred the enemy's position which he found strong, but none the less resolved to attack it, considering that, since a battle seemed inevitable, it was best not to await attack with the flooded Rhine so close in his rear, since a disaster must follow upon any reverse. He determined therefore to make a night march and attack de Castries' left before the remainder of his troops should reach him.

The Prince then made the following dispositions: he posted a small body of German troops to observe the French at Rheinberg while the remainder of his force moved on Kloster Kampen, marching at 11 p.m. The vanguard was led by Major-General Elliott and was composed of the Prussian Hussars who formed the point, followed by two squadrons each of the Inniskillings and 1st Dragoons, behind whom came the two Highland Battalions. These were followed by the advanced guard, under Colonel Beckwith, of Maxwell's and Lennox's Grenadiers, the main body under General Waldegrave being composed of the 20th and 25th Foot commanded by Major-General Griffin, and eight Hanoverian and Hessian Battalions under a General Behr. Behind these came the Reserve under General Howard—the 11th, 23rd, 33rd and 51st Regiments and three Hessian Battalions, the rear being brought up by Colonel Harvey with two squadrons of the 10th Dragoons and ten German squadrons.

At about 3-30 a.m. on the 16th October, the head of the allied advance came upon the French outposts some mile and a half in front of Kloster Kampen, and, despite the strict orders which had been given to the contrary, some muskets were discharged, but the enemy was not seriously disturbed and the march was resumed as far as the bridge leading over the canal from the village of Kampenbröck—in front of de Castries' left. By this the garrison of the Convent was isolated, and the allied advance guard drove the French light troops from it, cutting down some and capturing others.

The sound of the firing now alarmed the French left and the Auvergne brigade was hurriedly got under arms, occupying the marshy ground and a thin and straggling wood lying to the left front of Kampenbröck. The Grenadiers advanced so rapidly that they were through the wood and in occupation of part of the village before the enemy knew they were so close at hand. It was now 4 a.m.

and still very dark; de Castries had arrived upon the scene and taken charge. He posted the brigades Alsace and Tour du Pin in prolongation of the right of the Auvergne brigade, retaining Normandie at first in reserve, and launched an attack against the allied flank. The Alsace and Auvergne brigades were, however, themselves so violently assailed that they fell back, a gap was driven between the two, and though the brigade Normandie was now rushed up, the village was lost to the French.

The rest of the action here is not easy to follow; it was not yet day, the troops were much intermixed; it is said that the Grenadiers by mistake fired on the 20th and 25th Regiments, but while both sides were losing men the Allies gained ground, and the situation of the French was critical. De Castries sent urgent orders for reinforcements and in person led a battalion against the British flank; the troops here gave way before the onset, and the Hereditary Prince, forgetting how often the British had won victory for him, permitted himself some disparaging remarks about what took place.

The action had now been three hours in progress and day was breaking.

The French pressed forward rapidly and in some disorder; the Prince sent messages urging forward the Reserve under Howard and directed Elliott to bring up his cavalry. At this moment the Prince's horse was killed and he was himself wounded by the same bullet in the leg; he was assisted to the rear by Lord George Lennox and Captain Macbean. General Elliott and his squadrons now made a very timely charge, first upon the French infantry and then against the greatly superior French cavalry, falling back eventually on Kloster Kampen galled by the fire of four French 16-pounders. The action of these horsemen had, however, afforded time for the rallying of the allied infantry whose ammunition was now giving out, and for their withdrawal to the high ground about Burick, General Howard advancing up to Kloster Kampen with the Reserve and covering the retirement which the French were unable, owing to the severity of their own losses, very seriously to harass.

The allies, thanks to the timely intervention of the cavalry and the firm countenance of Howard's division, were able to retreat in good order, and not unduly pressed, towards Buderich where they formed up behind a long dyke.

On the evening of the 16th October, the Prince learnt that, owing to the great rush of flood water in the river, the bridge, which early in the siege he had caused to be thrown over the Rhine, could no longer be maintained in its present position; in consequence it was moved to a spot further down the stream but was not completed in its new position until 3 a.m. on the 18th, and there was of course

THE BATTLE OF KLOSTER KAMPEN

no time to construct a new bridgehead, but a make-shift one was hurriedly put together from wagons, and its sides were flanked by the fire of twenty-four guns placed in battery on the further bank of the river.

By the morning of the 17th the enemy had at last debouched into the plain near Ossenburg and advanced thence to within a mile of the allied position. The troops under command of the Hereditary Prince had by now been many hours under arms, they were exhausted, weak in number, and their ammunition was nearly expended, while behind them there was a river in high flood, and the guns of Wesel commanded much of the ground on which they stood. The Prince now showed very fine qualities of leadership; he was everywhere and saw personally to everything; he caused a dam to be thrown up, thus inundating much of the ground in his front; ammunition was sent for and passed over the raging stream in small boats; and he did all possible to help and hearten his men, while the French wasted the whole of the 17th in reconnoitring the allied position.

On this night the troops began to file off towards the new bridge, but this when ready was found, from having been overhastily put together, to be very weak; it broke more than once, and it was not until 11 a.m. on the 18th that the passage of the Rhine was at last successfully effected. The cavalry were the first to cross, followed by the guns, and these latter were then placed in battery on the further bank to cover the crossing of the infantry. The French now began to press forward and cannonaded the bridge, but without doing much harm, while the allied guns replied and checked the progress of the enemy. One who was present has said¹: "Sir George Howard commanded the rear. I returned after our regiment" (Campbell's Highlanders) "had passed the bridge, and repassed the Rhine with the first battalion of our Grenadiers, commanded by Lord George Lennox, and with a platoon of Lieutenant Moore's, Lord Drogheda's brother, to two pieces of cannon placed on the bank to cover the bridge of boats, so that I saw it all without, as it happened, any hazard and got a rebuke for my pains. . . . Our glorious retreat closed when every cannon was over, by the setting fire to some wagons filled with straw which smoaked the French, and the boats and sloops which composed the bridge being disengaged from each other sailed up the Rhine."

Most of the heavy guns had been sent away on the 17th, and the Hereditary Prince's force camped at Brünen.

The French lost 185 officers and 2459 other ranks killed and wounded, while the Allies had eighty-five officers and 1527

¹ *Roxburghe MMS.* p. 50.

non-commissioned officers and men killed, wounded and missing; they left one 3-pounder on the field. As usual the heaviest loss occurred among the British, their casualties amounting to nine officers and 146 other ranks killed, forty-five officers and 474 non-commissioned officers and men wounded, and five officers and 324 men taken prisoner, a total of fifty-nine officers and 944 other ranks, or not far short of two-thirds of the total allied loss. The only British regiments in General Howard's division which suffered appear to have been the 10th Dragoons and the 23rd Fusiliers, among which the losses were tolerably heavy.

The adverse opinion expressed by the Hereditary Prince as to the action of the British troops at Kloster Kampen does not seem to have been shared by other of his contemporaries: Mauvillon, who served in the campaign, states that *die Engländer zeigten wieder darbey eine ganz ausnehmende Tapferkeit*¹; while we read the following in the Orders published on the 22nd October:

"General Waldegrave had yesterday the honour of a letter from Prince Ferdinand, and it is with pleasure that he can acquaint the troops that H.S.H. is so extremely sensible of their gallant behaviour on the 16th that he begs of him to return both officers and soldiers his most sincere thanks in the strongest terms."

On the 31st October, the Marquis of Granby wrote to Lord Ligonier from Warburg as follows: "Though the expedition against Wesel did not turn out to our wishes, or indeed to the sanguine expectations of many, yet the re-passing the Rhine without the loss of a single man with troops so harassed as ours were, in the face of a superior enemy elated with success, and considering also the many dangers and difficulties that attended the passage of such a river, over a single bridge of boats in such tempestuous weather, cannot but be reckoned a most fortunate event. And by all accounts the Hereditary Prince's conduct as a general on no occasion has given him greater honour than on this very critical one. All the troops likewise under His Serene Highness's command have gained themselves great honour from their steadiness and bravery."

On the 26th October, nearly all the troops which had taken part in the operations against Wesel withdrew from Brünen to Klein Reckum, where they remained throughout the whole of the month of November.

King George II. of England died on the 25th October, and on the 18th of the following month a notice appeared in Lord Granby's Orders in Germany directing the wearing of mourning for the late monarch—"black crape on the Colours, drums and banners;

¹ "The English here again displayed quite extraordinary bravery." *Mauvillon*. Vol. 2., p. 125.

THE BATTLE OF KLOSTER KAMPEN

officers to cover their swords, knots and sashes with black crape, to wear crape round their arms, and plain hats with crape hat bands."

The season was now approaching when the troops might reasonably hope to seek winter quarters, the more that there was much sickness, Granby writing on the 5th November to inform the Commander-in-Chief that there were "upwards of 4,000 men in hospital." Towards the latter part of December the majority of the troops had been withdrawn into temporary cantonments, and at this time the British troops which had taken part in the Wesel expedition were in the Bishopric of Münster, the 51st occupying quarters at a place called Ludinghausen, while many officers of the Army had been permitted to go to England on leave.

In the Public Record Office there is a small and much torn bundle of papers¹, and among these there is a fragment of a "state" which appears to be part of a "monthly return" of the 51st Regiment. It is dated "Nehem, 1st January, 1761," and it shows the disposition of certain of the officers as under :

1761

"Captain Donnellan at Nienberg.
 Captain Bissett, A.Q.M.G. under Colonel Harvey.
 Lieut. Dodd } raising independent companies in
 Lieut. Gordon } England.
 Lieut. Gill, in England.
 Lieut. Peck, on command at Nienberg.
 Lieut. Sinclair, sick in hospital.
 Lieut. Sherwood, A.D.C. to Colonel Brudenell.
 Ensign Bream, sick in hospital.
 One Lieutenancy vacant by death of Warburton.
 One Ensigncy vacant by death of Gibson."

From this last entry it may perhaps reasonably be inferred that Ensign Gibson had died from the effects of the wound he had received at Corbach.

If the allied troops expected that a period of rest was about to open for them after the hard work of the last campaign, these agreeable anticipations were shattered very early in the year 1761 by the preparations for the execution of the plans which, for some weeks past, Duke Ferdinand had been maturing. He proposed then to take advantage of de Broglie's inactivity and to attempt a fresh enterprise—nothing less than a sudden irruption into the country of Hesse, then in full occupation of the French, in the depth of winter, in the hope of reducing Cassel and obtaining possession of Göttingen ; or at least of forcing the enemy to fall back, abandoning or destroying his magazines, and thus preventing his taking the field again so early as he might wish.

¹ W.O. 17/1772.

Certain troops were detailed to remain in the Bishopric of Münster, but the rest of those intended to take part in the proposed operations were divided into three bodies. That of the Hereditary Prince was to act against Fritzlar and Marburg, the force under Ferdinand in person was to march on Cassel, while General Spörcken was to attack the enemy's left and endeavour to force his posts on the Werra.

The only British troops with the Hereditary Prince were the 2nd Dragoon Guards, 2nd, 6th, 10th and 11th Dragoons and the 33rd and 51st Foot; the two Grenadier and Highland Battalions, the 20th, 23rd and 25th Foot and the 1st Dragoons remained in the Bishopric of Münster under General Hardenberg; while the remainder of the British contingent, including the Guards—now forming, with their Grenadier battalion, four battalions—were with Ferdinand. "The British infantry," wrote Granby at this time, "have been extremely sickly, so regiments march out weak."

The initial operations of Ferdinand's advance were remarkably successful; on the 13th February, Spörcken inflicted a defeat upon the French, near Gotha, on the 14th the Castle of Weissenstein fell to Granby, while on the 15th the British troops with the Hereditary Prince received the surrender of Fritzlar; the French fell back and destroyed one of their largest magazines to prevent it falling into the hands of the Allies.

Thereafter, however, nothing went well. The siege of Cassel was undertaken, but was delayed by bad weather and want of transport for the siege material; the sickness among the troops increased—Granby wrote on the 21st February, that while the cavalry was in excellent condition the six British infantry regiments then with him had been reduced to something like 1,200 all told; later on we find Ferdinand writing to Frederick the Great, that eight British battalions could furnish no more than 700 effectives among them, that some of his German regiments did not number 200 bayonets; the twenty-one battalions engaged in the siege of Cassel could find less than 6,000 men for duty; while it is stated that on one occasion when the 5th Foot had detailed fifty men for duty only *five* men were left with the Colours.

The French by this had gathered reinforcements and advanced again in overpowering strength, and Ferdinand, recognizing the utter failure of his plans, ordered a retreat to the Diemel which began on the night of the 23rd—24th March. The Hereditary Prince covered the retirement, on the 31st March the river was crossed, and on the 1st April, 1761, the Allied Army went into winter quarters, in the Bishopric of Paderborn, the County of Lippe, and along both banks of the Weser as far as Münden, the 51st Regiment being stationed at Driburg in the Bishopric of Paderborn.

THE CAMPAIGNS OF 1761, 1762 AND 1763 AND THE END OF THE WAR

VII

ON the arrival of the army in winter quarters Lord Granby and several others of the senior British officers proceeded on leave to England, while General Conway arrived in Germany to command during Granby's absence, remaining on after his return. Several new brigadiers came out from home, among these being Major-Generals Townshend, Sandford, Lord Frederick Cavendish and Douglas.

Lord Granby left England on return to Germany at the end of May, 1761, and almost at once on arrival wrote to the Duke of Newcastle, saying: "I am sorry to acquaint your Grace that the army is not as healthy as I could wish, we having, as I am informed, near 12,000 sick." He also mentioned that all was quiet, that the Guards were then at Paderborn, and the rest of the British infantry at Soest and Hamm.

In the Public Record Office there is the fragment of what appears to be a Monthly Return¹ of the 51st Regiment; it is dated "Soest, 1st June, 1761," and it gives the following information about certain officers:

Lieut.-Colonel Daulhat, in command at Bremen.

Captain Martin, visiting the Grand Hospitals.

Captain Campbell, not yet joined.

Captain Bissett, Assistant Quartermaster General.

Lieut. Gordon, raising an independent company.

Lieut. Peake, on command at Nienburg.

Lieut. Lord Hinchinbroke, A. D. C. to General Waldegrave.

Ensign Breme, absent without leave.²

General Conway had proceeded to Soest on the 12th July, 1761, taking with him the 8th, 20th, 25th and 50th Regiments under Major-General Townshend, and the 11th, 23rd, 33rd and 51st under Lord Frederick Cavendish, while General Howard had moved to Hamm on the 15th, having under him Sandford's brigade composed of the 5th, 12th, 24th and 37th Foot.

¹ W.O. 17/1772.

² From this return it seems likely that some junior officer commanded the 51st in the action of the 15th and 16th July, at Vellinghausen. "Breme" should probably be Brewin.

To the British troops Lord Granby brought a message from King George expressing his satisfaction at "the zeal and spirit with which they went through the fatigues of the last campaign."

During the past few weeks of inactivity the French War Council had decided upon the division of the Army into two unequal and semi-independent forces. "The Army of the Lower Rhine" was placed under the command of Marshal Soubise, while the corps to be known as "the Army of the Upper Rhine" was allotted to de Broglie; the first contained some 95,000 men, the latter about 65,000 of all arms. The mission of the two marshals was the clearing of the Allies out of Westphalia and the reduction of the fortresses of Münster and Lippstadt—also, if possible, of that of Hameln. Soubise was to move on Hamm and de Broglie on Paderborn; the campaign was timed to open about the 20th June; and the assembly places of the two armies were respectively Wesel and Cassel.

Receiving intelligence of the concentration of the army of Soubise, near Wesel, Ferdinand resolved to march with the main army on Soest, which was reached on the 24th June, and on arrival here he decided to move against Soubise, then near Unna, and try to bring him to battle and thus save Lippstadt and Münster from capture. On the 27th June, 1761, the Army left Soest in six columns, Granby's corps finding the advanced guard, and moved by Rhine and Werle on Unna. The 51st Regiment was in No. 4 Column commanded by Lieut.-General John Mostyn, and with it were also the 8th, 23rd, 25th and 50th Regiments, with the Blues, Carabiniers and 7th Dragoons. At the same time a force under the Hereditary Prince moved from Hamm, to the neighbourhood of Kirch Denkern and encamped in rear of the Salzbach stream not far from Werle, the castle of which was at this time garrisoned by a detachment of the 23rd Fusiliers under a Captain Fox.

On the 29th, the Army marched directly against Soubise at Unna, but his position, naturally strong, had been made formidable by the works which had there been thrown up, and Ferdinand reluctantly decided against attack. His situation was now rather precarious—a superior enemy in his front occupying an unassailable position, while a second hostile force, at least equal to him in numbers, was coming up in his rear and was already close at hand. A good deal of manoeuvring now resulted, Ferdinand endeavouring to get in rear of Soubise, who retreated before him and retired on Soest to effect there a junction with de Broglie, who was then near Paderborn.

On the 7th July, Ferdinand was at Hilbeck, a village eleven miles west of Soest, his left on the Lippe and right on the Roer. On the 11th he moved his headquarters to Hohenover and took up a position

on the left bank of the Salzbach and gave orders for it to be strengthened in every possible way in view of the action which now seemed to be impending, though when and where the storm was likely to break even one so highly placed as Lord Granby seems to have been doubtful. On the 15th July, he wrote to Lord Bute¹:—"Everything much as usual, we have moved rather nearer the Lippe towards Hamm, the enemy have brought their left near us. Frequent skirmishes but nothing of much importance. . . . We here don't know which to expect first, the siege of Lippstadt, a battle, or a suspension of arms, which last, if long delayed, may come too late to save many a broken head."

On the day previous, the 14th, Ferdinand issued orders for his troops to take up positions as under in readiness for the concerted attack he saw was about to be made upon him. The Hereditary Prince with some 18,000 men occupied the extreme right from the village of Hilbeck to the heights of Wambeln. The actual heights were held by the troops under Conway, whose left was in rear of the village of Scheidingen. On Conway's left stood General Howard's corps, consisting in the first line of Lord Frederick Cavendish's brigade—the 11th, 33rd, 51st and 23rd, in the order named from the right; while in the second line, in a hollow north of the village of Wambeln and behind a small wood, was Lord Pembroke's cavalry brigade of the Blues, 7th Dragoons and Carabiniers. Howard's corps numbered 3650 all told.

On Howard's left was the Prince of Anhalt's division, holding the ground from the village of Illingen to the junction of the Ase and Salzbach. Elliott's cavalry brigade to the east of Sud-Denckern contained the 1st and 10th Dragoons and the Inniskillings.

Across the Ase was General Wutginau, rather drawn back; on his left front was Granby who commanded all the troops between the Ase and Lippe—a force containing some 11,000 men.

The ground in front of the allied position was much intersected by streams, and while before the left it was greatly enclosed, it was more open in front of the right and centre.

De Broglie's troops, marching from Erwitte, arrived on the ground about 10 a.m. on the 15th, but delayed attack until nearly four in the afternoon, at which hour Soubise, who was late, was only beginning to make his appearance. De Broglie decided to attack Granby that day, but Soubise did little or nothing, thinking that he had the whole of Ferdinand's army entrenched before him and that the allied left did not extend beyond Scheidingen village.

For this day the Parole was "Petrus and Pirmont," while the Countersign was "Stauffenburg."

¹ *Add. MMS.* 32925.

De Broglie attacked the left in force and fighting was very heavy about Vellinghausen, the British Grenadier battalions and the Highlanders being hotly engaged. The extreme left, covering the road to Hamm, held firm, but Granby's centre was obliged to yield some ground. Fighting ceased on this flank about ten o'clock at night, but the patrols sent out from either side came to grips about the woods and villages. This day Soubise remained practically inactive opposite the other flank, contenting himself with sending a force of all arms to attack a village on the right held by a detachment from the troops of the Hereditary Prince, but this attack being beaten off Soubise attempted nothing further.

Ferdinand, who thoroughly understood the mentality of his two opponents, realized that the real danger spot was on his left opposite de Broglie, and he accordingly issued orders about 7 p.m. on the 15th for the strengthening of his left even at the risk of sensibly weakening his right. Wutginau was directed to move up close in support of Granby, the Prince of Anhalt to take Wutginau's place, Howard to move further to his left and Conway to occupy the ground vacated by the Prince of Anhalt. The Hereditary Prince was ordered to send troops to take Conway's place on the Wambeln heights, the artillery was re-distributed, while Spörcken, who had fallen back before de Broglie's advance to Herzfeld, was urgently bidden to send reinforcements to further support the left.

The battle began again at three on the morning of the 16th on the left, and continued for several hours, only interrupted from time to time by the occasional failure of the ammunition supply on one side or the other. The left, however, stood firm, and when about 7 a.m. Spörcken's reinforcements came up, Granby took the offensive and drove back the enemy who began on this flank to retreat about 10 o'clock. The pursuit was at first not pressed, since Ferdinand was not unanxious in regard to his denuded right; reports had reached him about 8 o'clock that a strong enemy column was moving against the allied centre, while a heavy gun fire had there broken out, and the Hereditary Prince had asked for help, stating he was being attacked in greatly superior force. The infantry of the left was now withdrawn from contact with the French, while the enclosed ground was unfavourable for cavalry pursuit.

Soubise had moved forward early this morning in several columns towards the Salzbach. He deployed under cover of the high banks of the stream, Scheidingen was attacked, its outskirts were captured, and the other crossing places were made for.

Cavendish's brigade does not appear to have been very seriously engaged, the heaviest fighting hereabouts falling to the share of the regiments under Sandford, which stoutly contested the repeated

attempts of the brigade Piémont to cross the Salzbach. Here also firing began to die away about 11 a.m., and by mid-day had wholly ceased, Soubise drawing off his force—several complete divisions of which had not fired a shot—and falling back towards Soest.

The French loss of all ranks in killed, wounded and prisoners was 3,112, while the Allies captured also nine guns and seven Colours.

The casualties among Ferdinand's army totalled only 1514, the share of the British being 480—nearly one-third of the whole.

The 51st Regiment had one non-commissioned officer killed, six men wounded and one man taken prisoner.

Granby, writing on the 17th July to Lord Bute,¹ said: "I can never sufficiently commend the zeal, activity and steady bravery of the troops; they not only showed the greatest spirit and resolution in action, but also the greatest patience and firmness during a very long and severe cannonade."

Ferdinand published a long Order on the 24th July,² in which, after justly eulogizing the behaviour of the left wing upon which the weight of the attack had fallen, he said: "*H.S.H. further thinks it proper that the Army should be acquainted with what passed upon our right while our left was engaged with the enemy, viz. that almost Marshal Soubise's whole army was manœuvred opposite the Hereditary Prince's corps, and endeavoured to penetrate in several places, but that the Prince by his prudent manœuvres, his own personal bravery, and that of his troops rendered the attempt ineffectual, so that they were obliged to retire with great loss, which contributed not a little to our being able upon the left to push our advantage with more certainty and success. . . . At six this evening the Army and all the detached corps are to be under arms in the front of their camps to fire a feu de joie. The artillery taken from the enemy will begin it, followed by the artillery attached to each corps, then the field pieces of the regiments, and lastly the small arms. The whole to be repeated in this order three times beginning upon the right of each corps.*"

Then on the 31st July, the receipt of the following message was announced in Orders: "*His Majesty the King of Great Britain by a letter dated 24th July to H.S.H. the Duke has charged him with a commission which is too agreeable to him not to find a particular pleasure in acquitting himself of it as soon as possible to those whom it regards. It is that His Majesty having had a relation of the glorious affair of the 16th and of the brave actions and admirable conduct of the general officers, other officers, and the troops in general of the different nations which had an opportunity of engaging the enemy, His Majesty therefore desires and charges H.S.H. the Duke to testify in the strongest terms his sense of it and how much esteem for them is thereby*

¹ Add. MMS. 32925.

² MMS. Orders in Library R.U.S.I.

augmented. His Majesty makes them all his great compliment of his thanks and assures them in general and every one in particular that his satisfaction for their behaviour is as perfect as his gracious remembrance of it will be lasting."

Before proceeding with any account of the further operations of the campaign of 1761, the opportunity may here be taken of giving the figures of a "state" of the 51st Regiment dated the 1st August of this year.¹ It shows: "one Lieutenant-Colonel, one Major, five Captains, fourteen Lieutenants, six Ensigns, one Chaplain, one Adjutant, one Quartermaster, one Surgeon, two Surgeon's Mates, thirty-four Sergeants, eighteen Drummers, 632 Rank and File fit for duty." There were "fourteen sick present, 173 sick in hospital, twenty-six men on command, two on furlough, total 847 Rank and File." There were "fifty-three wanted to complete," and since the last return was rendered five men had died and ten had deserted.

The remainder of the campaign of 1761, while of great interest to and full of valuable lessons for the military student, does not contain much that is of importance from the point of view of the regimental historian; no attempt will therefore be made to relate the operations in any great detail, and it will probably be sufficient to state generally what happened during the latter half of this year, mentioning where the 51st was to be found at different dates between July and December.

After the battle of the 16th July, de Broglie fell back to Erwitte and his colleague to Soest; on the 25th the two armies, which had only with great and increasing difficulty been supplied, were again widely separated, de Broglie, after being reinforced by Soubise with thirty-six battalions and fifty squadrons, falling back on Paderborn, and the Army of the Lower Rhine retreating on Dortmund, whence only six weeks previously it had so confidently advanced.

De Broglie's intention was now to attempt the siege of Hameln and he made many preparations to this end, including the bringing forward of heavy artillery from Cassel; but Ferdinand marched on Blomberg whence he effectually covered Hameln, and de Broglie, finding himself forestalled, crossed the Weser at Hörter with the view of supplying his army from the Electorate of Hanover. In the month of October he made an attempt to effect an incursion into Hanover, and, later, a more serious one into Brunswick, but he was repulsed, and Ferdinand then moving towards Hameln, crossed the Weser near that town in November and forced de Broglie to fall back on Göttingen.

During the greater part of this time Soubise was unable or unwilling to undertake any operations of a serious or useful character, and

¹ W.O. 17/1772.

THE CAMPAIGNS OF 1761, 1762 AND 1763 AND THE END OF THE WAR

his troops were largely engaged in small filibustering expeditions, over-running and plundering the country.

Such were in barest outline the happenings of the last half of the year, 1761, and the record may now be filled in as under.

On the 27th July, the Allies marched from the neighbourhood of Vellinghausen in pursuit of the French, the Hereditary Prince remaining near Werle to watch the movements of Soubise. On the 30th the main army, marching by Alt-Gesecke, Stormede and Stadt-Gesecke, reached Büren, having been joined *en route* by the corps of Generals Wangenheim and Spörcken. The arrangement of the divisions had been changed, the brigades of Major-Generals Cæsar and Townshend now coming under command of General Spörcken, while that of Lord Frederick Cavendish, containing the 51st Foot, formed part of the force led by Lieut.-General Wutginau. On the 3rd August, however, this brigade was transferred to Granby's command.

The operations of this period are described at some length in a letter¹ written by Granby to Lord Ligonier from "Camp at Höxter" on the 21st August; he says: "I am just returned home from the heights above Höxter, having been out since four in the morning, everything having been prepared for the bombarding and attacking Höxter, which the French had fortified by a good covert-way, well pallisadoed, and some outworks, but the enemy by evacuating the place, had luckily prevented the unhappy consequences which in that case must have attended the poor inhabitants. The enemy are now all on the other side of the Weser; they have one camp by Bevern and another by Holzmünden, with the right of their main army opposite the Palace of Corvey, and their left at Fürstenberg, where M. Broglie has his headquarters.

"While H.S.H. lay at Büren he detached Generals Wutginau and Wangenheim to turn the left of a corps of the enemy which lay at Stadtbergen, at the same time ordering General Waldegrave to march with part of my corps, consisting of Beckwith's brigade, the two battalions of Mansberg with likewise the pickets of Lord W. (*sic*) Cavendish and General Sandford, with Elliott's Regiment and the pickets of General Douglas and Colonel Harvey's brigade of Cavalry to cross the Dymel in order to attack the right of that corps. But the enemy by getting intelligence of Wutginau's march, had time to strike their tents and retire. General Wutginau attacked them in their retreat, but without any great loss on either side. The pickets, under the command of Lord George Lennox, with Walsh's grenadiers, attacked a battalion of the enemy at the village of Weston, on this side the Dymel, and immediately disposed. H.S.H., who was

¹ Rutland MMS. Vol. 2. pp. 257 and 258.

present, highly extolled the behaviour of those troops, and of the officers who commanded them on that occasion, and ordered me to thank them for the excellent manner in which they led them on.

"During this I marched with the rest of my corps to the heights above the Convent of Dalem, in order to prevent a large corps of the enemy, encamped at Kleinenberg, from turning General Waldegrave's left flank. H.S.H. had also taken every precaution, by advancing other corps, to have supported us, had the enemy chose to have brought on anything general. The Duke, finding from their position that he could not easily turn their left, marched, the 15th, from Büren Camp four days successively, and took possession of the heights betwixt Blomberg and Horn, my corps, then consisting of Beckwith's brigade, the three battalions of Brunswick Grenadiers, Harvey's Brigade, Elliott's and the five squadrons of Prussian Hussars, making always the advanced guard. Upon the head of my corps gaining the heights, we perceived many columns of cavalry and infantry advancing to us ; but upon their perceiving that my corps had gained the heights, as likewise a detached corps under General Spörcken, they halted for some time and after several manœuvres, seeing that our whole army was coming up, they fell back and encamped on the heights of Neinheim. 'Twas then that we perceived that it was M. Broglie's whole army, which had intended to have encamped on the very heights we had just gained."

Granby then relates some minor operations which had taken place about the town of Horn, and continues : "The Duke having received intelligence that a large part of the enemy's army had passed the Weser, and that two large corps remained on the heights on this side Höxter, H.S.H. determined to attack them. On the 19th the army marched in six columns, of which the Duke marched with two columns to turn their right. Four columns, my corps making the advanced guard, marched to gain their left. I then received the Duke's order. . . to take every measure possible to dispossess them, as it would be impracticable at the distance he should be from me to send me any orders, at the same time directing me to order up, as I should find it necessary, battalions from any of the four columns ; but upon my approaching the left of their camp I found they had retired. I pushed on immediately with the light troops, the pickets and brigade of Beckwith with the battalion guns and two heavy 6-pounders, with orders for the cannon and the rest of the troops to advance as fast as possible, and gained the heights above Höxter time enough to cannonade their rear as they passed the Weser. At the same time the two columns under General Wutginau, where the Duke was, having gained the heights in the rear of their right flank,

cannonaded them likewise. I have just heard that all the enemy's baggage is sent away to Uslar. This moment I have a letter from Colonel Clinton by order of the Hereditary Prince, which says that the corps of M. Stainville has fallen back towards Cassel. . . it is therefore most probable that to-morrow morning they may move. . . . M. Soubise is very near Münster, but we have no apprehension for it as the garrison there is very strong."

On the 3rd September, Granby wrote from Körbecke to Lord Bute, saying that the greater part of the British troops was encamped near Immenhausen, and on the 22nd and 28th he wrote again giving something of a diary of events during that month; finally on the 20th October, in a letter to Lord Ligonier, Granby gave him the news, including that of the capture by the French of Emden, which seems to have somehow been left with a very weak garrison, in spite of the fact that in August this had been reinforced by two companies of Lord Lindore's regiment of Invalids.

When on the 24th August Granby had marched to Borgholtz, Lord Frederick Cavendish's brigade seems to have been attached to Conway's command, which was sent to occupy the heights of Hof-Geismar, the camp appearing to have been at a place called Brenckhausen; but on the 25th Conway proceeded to join Granby at Borgholtz, and the two forces then marched against de Stainville. At the end of August we find Cavendish's brigade, which included the 51st, in a column under General Howard at Immenhausen, but on the 18th September the brigade had been reduced by one battalion, the 23rd Fusiliers being temporarily detached and shown as serving under General Waldegrave's command.

There is a "state" for the month of September,¹ which contains the following about the 51st Foot: Actual strength 821, sick 189, effectives 586: since the date of the last return three men had deserted, ten had died, and one had joined; while there were on command seven officers, two non-commissioned officers and thirty-seven privates.

On the 11th October, the 51st was with the rest of the main army in camp at Borlinghausen, while on the 3rd November it was at Ohr, the 23rd Fusiliers having rejoined the brigade at this date. A week later—on the 11th of this month—the army appears to have occupied temporary cantonments, Cavendish's brigade being stationed at Amelsen, Ammenhausen and Postenhagen, the headquarters of the brigade and of the division (Waldegrave) being at the first named place.²

¹ "Westphalen." Vol. 5, p. 794.

² *Ferdinand's Orders, Library R.U.S.I.* These places were probably but small villages as they are not discoverable on ordinary maps.

The same order, dated 11th November, contains the announcement—"Captain" (John) "Walker of the 51st Foot to be Brigade-Major *vice* the late Captain Courtney"—of the 20th, who had been killed in an affair of the 9th November, while serving with a corps known as Frazer's Chasseurs.

In the Public Record Office there is a very complete return¹ of the whole of the British force serving in Germany; it is dated the 1st November, 1761, and it contains the following about the 51st Foot:

On this date the Regiment consisted of one Major, five Captains, fourteen Lieutenants, six Ensigns, one Chaplain, one Adjutant, one Quartermaster, one Surgeon, one Mate, thirty-three Sergeants, seventeen Drummers and 582 Men fit for duty.

There were sick present, seventeen; sick in hospital, 182; on command, thirty-four; on furlough, two; making a total of 817; while there were eighty-three rank and file "wanting to complete."

Since the last return had been rendered three men had been enlisted, eight had died, and two had deserted.

The following officers are shown as "absent," *viz.*:

Major-General Brudenell.

Lieut-Colonel Daulhat, in hospital.

Captain Martin, in hospital.

Captain Bissett, A.Q.M.G.

Lieutenant Brown, on Command.

Lieutenant Peake, on Command.

Lieutenant Wayne, in hospital.

Lieutenant Lord Hinchinbroke, A.D.C. to General Waldegrave.

Ensign Daulton.²

Ensign Forrest.

No reason is assigned for the absence of these two last-named officers.

On the 3rd December, 1761, the Allied Army went into winter quarters, the Guards in the town of Osnabrück, and the remainder of the British troops in the bishopric of that name: Duke Ferdinand's headquarters was established at Hildesheim.

As the re-opening of the campaign was delayed until late in 1762, it is proposed here to give extracts from four different returns which are preserved in the Public Record Office,³ and which cover the period prior to the commencement of active operations.

¹ "S.P. Foreign, Military Expeditions." 41.

² Should be Dalton. ³ "S.P. Foreign. Mil. Expeditions." 46.

THE CAMPAIGNS OF 1761, 1762 AND 1763 AND THE END OF THE WAR

The return for the twelve months from January to December, 1761, shows the 51st Regiment as having had :

<i>Killed</i>	..	..	Officers	0	N.C.O.'s	1	Men	2
<i>Died of Disease</i>	..	..	"	0	"	2	"	88
<i>Wounded</i>	..	..	"	0	"	1	"	1
<i>Deserted</i>	..	..	"	0	"	0	"	31
<i>Given leave</i>	..	..	"	1	"	0	"	15

Then a "State" for the 1st January, 1762, contains the following :
 Strength, present, 886 ; Wanting to complete, 132 ;
 1762 Employed, 113 ; In hospital, twenty-four ; Sick, present, seventy-four ; Prisoners of War, five ; Effectives, 536.

During the last month two had deserted, six had died, forty-four had been discharged, and two had been enlisted.

The "State" for the 1st April, 1762, shows :
 Strength, present, 886 ; Wanting to Complete, 191 ; Employed, eighty-five ; In hospital, twenty-one ; Sick, present, twenty-eight ; Effectives, 558.

Since the last return one had deserted, nineteen had died, one had been discharged.

The "State" for the 1st June, 1762, shows :
 Strength, present, 886 ; Wanting to complete, 208 ; Employed eighty-two ; In hospital, thirty-nine ; Sick, present, twenty-eight ; Effectives, 527.

Since the last return six had died, nine had been discharged and one had been enlisted.

The ill-success of the campaign of 1761 had caused the military authorities at Versailles to decide against the up-keep of two armies for the conduct of the coming operations, and to resolve to maintain one only with a Corps of Reserve. Very many of the battalions and squadrons which had suffered most heavily during the previous year were recalled to France, while a certain addition was made to the number of light troops to be employed. The bad feeling which for some time past had subsisted between de Broglie and Soubise came early in 1762 to a head, and as a result the former was deprived of his appointment, while the Marshal d'Estrées—the same who in 1758 had helped to defeat the Duke of Cumberland at Hastenbeck—was sent to Germany to exercise command conjointly with Soubise, the Prince of Condé being placed in subordination to both marshals while retaining charge of the Corps de Réserve.

Between the authorities at Versailles and the French commander in the field the question was much discussed as to how the plan of campaign for 1762 should be framed—whether the main army should assemble on the Lower Rhine and the bulk of the Reserve Corps in Hesse or *vice-versa* ; but it was finally decided that the

main army should concentrate in Hesse and the Reserve Corps on the Rhine. Choiseul does not appear to have considered the possibility of interference by Duke Ferdinand—he believed that nothing needed consideration but the mere choice of the route which the French army should pursue in its march upon Hanover; but Ferdinand made, in the profoundest secrecy, all the necessary preparations for the furtherance of an attempt to drive the French from Hesse, and on the 18th June, he assembled his force on the heights of Brakel, moving forward from that place to the Diemel where he arrived on the 21st.

In this campaign the 51st Regiment did not serve under its former brigadier, Major-General Lord Frederick Cavendish; the same four battalions were brigaded together as in 1761, but Cavendish, or as some German contemporary soldiers called him—"Kaven-titsch," seems to have held during certainly the greater part of this year's campaign the command of an independent brigade of light troops, containing a varying number of squadrons of hussars and light horse and from two to four battalions of Chasseurs—bodies of light infantry raised from the regiments of the different nations. Of these "Frazer's Chasseurs" appear to have formed the British contingent, Major Frazer who commanded them being probably the officer who appears in Ferdinand's Orders of the 15th May, 1761, as appointed A.D.C. to General Townshend.¹

It is not easy to discover who held command of the brigade containing the 11th, 23rd, 33rd and 51st Regiments, but from the fact that Westphalen repeatedly shows a "Lieutenant-Colonel Puhl" as holding command, it seems probable that at one period—certainly during the latter half of this year—the Brigadier was Lieutenant-Colonel Sacheverel Pole of the 23rd Fusiliers.

The French Grand Army under d'Estrées and Soubise had moved forward on the 22nd June, to a place called Grebenstein in front of Wilhelmstahl, a confined position in which Ferdinand determined to attack them. Spörcken and Lückner were sent against the enemy's right, Granby—who had with him the Guards, Highlanders and the two Grenadier battalions, with some German infantry, the Blues, Elliott's and some German squadrons—was to move by a long detour against the French left, while Ferdinand himself, with the bulk of his force—which contained practically the remainder of the British contingent—proposed to attack the centre. These various bodies did not, however, punctually combine their movements, the advance of the main body of the Allies being very slow, and one column

¹ Major-General Townshend left the Army in Germany in the spring of 1762, proceeding to Portugal in command of a division of the Anglo-Portuguese Army with the local rank of Lieutenant-General.

wholly mistaking the direction it had been intended to take. But for Granby the French, who commenced their retirement in good time, would probably have got away with small loss.

Granby, however, was in possession of the Dürrenberg, a position the enemy for some reason had omitted to occupy; and seeing that Lückner had fallen upon the French right, and expecting the main army would by this be in position to attack the centre, Granby on the 24th June advanced his men on the wood of Fürstenwald to assail the French left rear. Castrics was here in command of the French advanced troops and, seeing he was about to be attacked on three sides, he commenced his retreat by Frankenhausen, Wilhelmstahl and Hohenkirchen. The British under Granby pushed rapidly on, the French retiring in disorder before him, when de Stainville threw himself in the path of the advance with the flower of the French infantry—the Grenadiers de France, the Grenadiers Royaux and other *corps d'élite*. He was beaten back on the right of the main army which had by this arrived on the high ground near Kalle, and in the final defeat of the French some of the British regiments at the head of the main column—among them the 5th Foot—played a leading part; it seems, however, impossible to establish the fact that the 51st was seriously engaged in the battle, and the Regiment certainly suffered no loss.

The casualties of the Allies at Wilhelmstahl amounted to ten officers and 686 other ranks, killed, wounded and missing, of which the British numbered 417 all ranks. The French lost very heavily in prisoners and their total casualties amounted to not far short of 6000, of which 2700 were prisoners; while the Allies, whose cavalry and light troops hunted the fugitives up to the gates of Cassel, also took six Colours, one Standard, two guns and practically the whole of the baggage and transport of the French army.

On the 25th June, 1762, Ferdinand voiced his appreciation of the valour of his troops in the following order: "*The happy success of yesterday under the auspices of the Almighty does so much credit to the Army under the command of the Duke that H.S.H. finds a particular pleasure, and looks on it as his duty, to give public thanks to the Army which they so richly deserved. The Corps and Regiments who have had a particular opportunity to distinguish themselves, have shown so much good-will, courage, and eagerness to acquit themselves in doing their duty in the bravest manner, that H.S.H. cannot testify to them his satisfaction or sufficiently express his acknowledgements, or to the Generals and superior officers who by their conduct and good example have so much contributed to the happy success of the day, or to the officers, non-commissioned officers and privates whom H.S.H. promises to recommend in the strongest manner to their several sovereigns by*

informing them of the honour and glory they have again acquired by the action of yesterday."

During the remaining four and a half months that the campaign continued, the 51st Regiment does not seem to have been very actively employed. As far as can be discovered the Regiment remained in the same brigade. During the next few weeks after the action of Wilhelmstahl reports prevailed in camp that peace was close at hand, or that at least a suspension of arms would shortly be announced; and during the month of September, the Army was repeatedly exhorted to take no notice of such rumours. At this time also desertion was very prevalent, and Granby published several orders calling the attention of the Army to a state of things which he rightly described as "scandalous."

The armies remained for some time observing each other, and we learn that "during this period the officers on both sides were accustomed to amuse themselves with hunting and shooting. . . . In one party there happened to be a Captain Nixon, who had a strong relish for what is called a practical joke, and on one of the French officers lamenting that he could not enjoy the sport for want of good greyhounds, our quizzical friend observed that he had a couple of excellent ones which were very much at the Frenchman's service, and that he would send them to the outpost next morning; requesting at the same time to be favoured with the gentleman's name, that he might know to whom to address them. The answer was Count M.—I forget what; 'And pray,' said the Frenchman, 'to whom am I indebted for so great a favour' to which the other answered—'The favour is nothing, Sir, but my name is Count Nixon of the 51st Regiment.'

"Continuing the joke Captain Nixon next morning sent down two miserable curs to the outpost, where a French servant was in waiting to receive and lead them away. In the evening we were all surprised, and some of us a good deal annoyed, by the arrival of a couple of mules, each attended by a servant, the one of them loaded with two cases of Burgundy, the other with two cases of Champagne, as a return for the present of the greyhounds, addressed to 'Count Nixon' of the 51st Regiment."¹

One is glad to learn that Captain Nixon now sent to the French officer two really good greyhounds, explaining that the others had been forwarded in error.

The last success in the field of the Allies was the obtaining of the capitulation of Cassel, which fell into the hands of the Allies on the 1st November; by this the Allies regained possession of the capital of Hesse. The siege of Ziegenhain was also in progress when the

¹ "*Memoirs of Sir James Campbell.*" Vol. 1, pp. 117 and 118.

war came to an end. The 23rd Foot appears to have been the only British regiment which took part in both, or indeed in either, of these operations.¹

The preliminaries of peace were signed at Fontainebleau on the 3rd November, 1762, and the news reached the French Army in Germany on the 7th. On the next day Duke Ferdinand published the following order to his troops: "*H.S.H. the Duke makes it known to the Generals of the Army that he received yesterday evening an account from the two Marshals of France, of a peace being signed between England, France and Spain. That it was signed by the Ministers of the respective Courts and sent in immediately to London and Madrid to be ratified by their respective Sovereigns. That the Marshals had proposed to H.S.H. to settle some points between them before the Ratification arrived from the Court of London in order to suspend hostilities. As H.S.H. has nothing more at heart than preventing the effusion of human blood, he is willing to listen to the propositions of the Marshals and has proposed to them to order the Commandant at Ziegenhain to evacuate that place, and that then he would await the arrival of the Ratification of the peace from His Britannic Majesty, and that he had informed them that everything was in readiness to begin the siege of that place. H.S.H. has thought proper to inform the Generals of this affair being so far advanced that they may make it known to the troops and assures them that as soon as he is informed of the peace being ratified by His Britannic Majesty he will immediately make it known to the Generals and order the troops into the quarters which are allotted to them. In the meantime he hopes the Generals will observe the same discipline with the same exactness which has been ordered and recommended during the War.*"

Marshals d'Estrées and Soubise did not, however, see their way to agree to Ferdinand's proposals regarding the evacuation of Ziegenhain, and matters consequently remained *in statu quo* until the evening of the 14th, when a courier arrived from England, and on the day following a suspension of arms was signed in the house at the Brücke Mühle—the scene of some very desperate fighting in the previous September, and "a line was fixed upon to separate the two armies."

The cavalry regiments of the British force marched to their winter quarters on the 19th November, the infantry some fortnight later; the 51st Regiment occupied, pending its march to the port of embarkation, the towns of Melle, Willingholtzhausen and Remsloh. There appears at this time to have been some re-arrangement of commands, and the 11th, 23rd, 33rd and 51st at first found themselves, while occupying winter quarters, under command of Colonel

¹ Add. MMS. 28552.

—acting Major-General—Mompesson of the 8th Foot ; on the 14th December, however, there was a further and complete change, the British forces being formed into four divisions each of two brigades, one cavalry and one infantry. The 51st was now in the 4th Division, commanded by Major-General Sandford, and in the infantry brigade under Lieutenant-Colonel Calcraft of the 50th Foot. The other battalions in this brigade were the 50th Foot and Keith's and Campbell's Highlanders. The cavalry brigade of Sandford's Division consisted of the 7th, 10th and 11th Dragoons and 15th Light Dragoons, it being commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Marriott, 10th Dragoons.

On the 29th November, Granby had announced in an order signed "Thos. Hay, D.A.G." that he had reason to think the troops would before very long have orders to embark for England by way of Holland, but as to this the Dutch seem to have raised many difficulties, and it was not until well into the New Year that the first detachment of the first division of the Army left its winter quarters for its march through Holland to Wilhelmstadt, where transports had been collected for the passage of the troops to England.

Some weeks before this, however, Duke Ferdinand had taken leave of the troops he had for so long commanded, and his farewell order, issued from Neuhaus and published to the British force on the 28th December, 1762, runs as follows :—"His Serene Highness desires the troops may be acquainted that having after his arrival at Neuhaus demanded his Majesty's permission to leave the Army as he could be of no further use with it in the present situation, he had received His Majesty's commission for that purpose, accompanied with the most gracious declaration of his approbation and thanks for the services performed by His Serene Highness during his command of the Army.

"His Serene Highness declares to the Army that he shall always preserve the most flattering remembrance of having fought successfully at the head of those brave troops which composed it, for the public liberty and for the honour of his own and their country. That this remembrance will not cease but with his life and will never fail to recall to him the obligations which he has to the Generals and other officers who by their valour and experience have assisted and enabled him at the same time to serve his country and make a suitable return for the confidence with which His Majesty has been pleased to honour him. He therefore returns them his thanks for the same, and to the Army in general for the obedience they have constantly shown during the time he has commanded them."

Lord Granby left for England in advance of his army ; very shortly after hostilities were suspended he became very ill with typhus fever and lay for weeks between life and death at Warburg.

Eventually he started for home on January 13th, 1763, addressing the following farewell order to his troops from Münster on the 1st :—

1763 “ Lord Granby had hoped to have it in his power to have seen and taken leave of the troops before their embarkation for England ; but a severe illness having detained him at Warburg, and his present state of health obliging him to take another route, he could not leave this country without this public testimony of his entire approbation of their conduct since he has had the honour of commanding them.

“ These sentiments naturally call for his utmost acknowledgements. He therefore returns his warmest thanks to the Generals, Officers and Private Men composing the whole British Corps for the bravery, zeal, discipline and good conduct he has constantly experienced from every individual ; and his most particular and personal thanks are due to them for their ready obedience, upon all occasions, to such orders as his station obliged him to give.

“ His best endeavours have always been directed to their good by every means in his power ; and he has the satisfaction to think he has some reason to flatter himself of their being convinced, if not of the efficacy, at least of the sincerity of his intentions, if he may judge by the noble return their behaviour has made him ; a behaviour that, while it fills him with gratitude, endeared them to their King and Country, and has covered them with glory and honour.

“ Highly sensible of their merit, he shall continue, while he lives, to look upon it as much his duty as it will ever be his inclination to give them every possible proof of his affection and esteem, which he should be happy to make as apparent as their valour has been, and will be, conspicuous and exemplary to after ages.”

Later on the House of Commons recorded its thanks to the Services through its Speaker, Sir John Cust, Bt., in the following terms :—

“ Resolved *nem con.* That the thanks of this House be given to the Officers of the Navy and Army for the meritorious and eminent services which they have done to their King and Country during the course of the present war, and that Mr. Speaker do signify the same by letter to the Commission for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and to His Majesty's Secretary at War.”

In the Public Record Office¹ there is a “ State ” of the 51st Foot dated the 1st January, 1763, which shows that the Regiment then contained one Lieutenant-Colonel, one Major, six Captains, thirteen Lieutenants, four Ensigns, one Chaplain, one Adjutant, one Quartermaster, one Surgeon's Mate, thirty-four Sergeants, seventeen Drummers, 638 Rank and File fit for duty, sixteen Sick present,

¹ W.O. 17/1772.

twenty-four Sick in hospital, thirteen on Command, four on Furlough. Total 695. There were "wanting to compleat" four drummers and 205 rank and file. Since the last Return was rendered six men had died, three had been sent to Chelsea, two had been discharged and one had deserted.

In the same bundle of documents is one which shows that on March 15th, 1763, the 51st had twenty-one men, with Captain Bissett and Lieutenants Brown and Peake, on duty at Bremen.

As to this period the records of the 50th (Carr's) Regiment state that "on the 15th January" (1763), "Carr's and Brudenel's regiments were ordered up, in consequence of a dispute about pay—on account of which the *Legion Britannique* were in a state of mutiny—which was promptly quelled."

The British Army marched to the port of embarkation and was put on board the transports in the order of divisions, and the 51st Regiment being in the Fourth Division appears to have been one of the very last corps to leave the seat of war. The march through Holland was wholly uneventful and the behaviour of the troops appears to have been in every respect exemplary. "The Highest Commendations," we read¹, "are given by every one to the behaviour both of the officers and private men of His Britannick Majesty's troops in their passage through this country, the most exact discipline having been observed during their whole march by the several Corps, insomuch that there has not been a single complaint of any irregularity whatever, from the time of their entrance upon the Territory of the States to the embarkation at Wilhelmstadt."

The First Division was on the move at the end of January, but the last detachment of British troops did not cross the Meuse until the 8th March, and it was not until the 25th of that month that it was reported from the Hague that "all the British troops are actually embarked, and Lieutenant-General Conway, having settled everything to that service in this Country, sets out to-morrow morning for England."²

The authorities in England seem to have been in great doubt as to the port at which the 51st Regiment would land on its arrival from Germany. In the Public Record Office³ there are no fewer than three letters all dated the 11th March, and directed to "the Officer Commanding the 51st Regiment of Foot," but addressed the one to Harwich, the second to Gravesend and the third to Yarmouth; in these the Commanding Officer is informed that "It is His Majesty's pleasure that you cause the 51st Regiment of Foot under your command on their arrival at Harwich" (or Gravesend or Yarmouth)

¹ "London Gazette," 5th April, 1763.

² "London Gazette," 2nd April, 1763.

³ W.O. 5/51.

THE CAMPAIGNS OF 1761, 1762 AND 1763 AND THE END OF THE WAR

“ to disembark and proceed from the place of disembarkation according to the routes, acquainting this office with their arrival at their destined quarters, to Litchfield, where they are to be quartered and remain till further orders.”

The 51st seems to have at this time been divided into two parts or sub-divisions, the first containing five and the second four companies, the first division landing at Harwich and the second disembarking at Gravesend at the end of March.

The following officers appear as belonging to the 51st Regiment in the Army List for 1763, and no doubt the majority of these accompanied the Regiment to England.

Colonel Thos. Brudenell.¹

Lieut.-Colonel Peter Daulhat.

Major Richard Montgomery.

Captain John Walker.

„ Franklin Kirby.

„ Andrew de la Cour.

„ Lord Colvill.

„ James Campbell.

„ Robt. Bissett.

Captain-Lieut. Nicholas Cotterell

Lieutenant Alexander Hamilton.

„ Richard Brown.

„ Robert Sinclair.

„ Thomas Green.

„ William Culliford.

„ Gabriel Waine.

„ Samuel Knollis.

„ Robert Sherwood.

„ James Hogan.

„ Joseph Gill.

„ Edward Fuller.

„ William Peake.

„ Alexander Hanway.

„ John Livesey.

„ Henry Brewin.

„ John Harrison.

„ John Dupont.

„ Nixon.

Ensign John Elford.

„ James Piers.

„ John Jarvis.

„ James McPherson.

¹ *Would seem to have preceded the Regiment to England.*

THE HISTORY OF THE K.O.Y.L.I.

Ensign James Brick.

” Francis Ricard.

Chaplain—Thomas Maddock.

Adjutant—James Jarvis.

Quartermaster—James Hogan.

Surgeon—William Cooper.

IRELAND AND MINORCA. 1763—1783

VIII

WITH the conclusion of Peace, the Government made haste to reduce the establishment of the Army, and this was fixed for Great Britain at 17,500 men, including nearly 3,000 invalids ; that for the Colonies at 10,000 men ; and that for Minorca and Gibraltar at rather more than 4,000 men ; which, with 1,800 artillery and 12,000 men on the Irish establishment, made up a total of something over 45,000 men in all.¹

The order for reducing the establishment of the 51st Foot was dated 28th March, 1763, and it laid down that for the future each Company was to consist of one Captain, one Lieutenant and one Ensign, two Sergeants, two Corporals, one Drummer and twenty-eight effective private men, "and no more." The Grenadier Company was to have two Lieutenants instead of one Lieutenant and one Ensign. All supernumerary non-commissioned officers and men who were "less fit for service" were to be disbanded and also one Quartermaster and one Surgeon's mate. (In all other infantry regiments reduced at this time *two* Surgeon's mates were done away with.)

An exact muster of the regiment thus reduced was to be taken and submitted to Headquarters. It was further ordered that all accounts were to be settled ; that non-commissioned officers and men were to take away their clothes, but that all arms were to be returned to store, the men being permitted to retain their belts and knapsacks, while the sum of three shillings was to be allowed to each Sergeant, Corporal, Drummer and Private for his sword, and every man was to be furnished with "fourteen days' subsistence." Receipts to be taken and submitted as vouchers for the Bounty Money paid. Passes were to be issued to non-commissioned officers and men to their homes, but they were "not to travel with arms or more than three together," under pain of the severest punishment.

Under this order the nine Junior Lieutenants of the 51st were placed on half-pay.

The stay of the Regiment at Lichfield was a very brief one, for on the 3rd May, 1763, the Commanding Officer was informed² that "it is His Majesty's pleasure that you cause the 51st Regiment of Foot under your command to march from their present quarters by the shortest and most convenient route to Parkgate where they are to

¹ Fortescue, "*History of the British Army.*" Vol. 3, p. 10.

² W.O. 5/52.

embark on board such vessels as shall be provided to carry them to Ireland, acquainting this office with the receipt of this order, the day of their arrival at Parkgate, and their embarkation from thence."

That the 51st landed in Ireland on the 21st May, 1763 seems quite certain, since there is an order¹ in existence placing the 51st on the Irish establishment from that date; if additional evidence were needed it may be found in a letter dated War Office, 24th January, 1764, directing that the payment of the pension of 1764 the widow of Lieutenant Widdows of the 51st, killed in Germany, was to be transferred from the English to the Irish Establishment, and paid out of the Irish Officers' Widows' Fund; she had been paid up to the 20th May, 1763 only. The same Order was issued in regard to the widow of Lieut.-Colonel Furey.

The following state of the Companies is given "at landing":—

Colonel's Company: the Colonel absent; Ensign Piers absent; Chaplain Maddock absent.

Lieut.-Colonel Daulhat's.

Major Montgomery's: Lieut. Brown sick in hospital. One man on duty at Bremen.

Captain Walker's: Lieut. Sinclair absent.

Captain Kirby's: Lieuts. Hamilton and Sherwood absent.

Captain de la Cour's: Lieut. Wayne absent.

Captain Campbell's.

Captain Bissett's: the Captain absent; Lieutenant Culliford absent; Ensign not yet appointed.

The Manuscript Records of the 51st state that the place of disembarkation was Dublin, and this is probably correct, although the first station of the Regiment was Kinsale, for which Cork would certainly have been more convenient; at that date, however, Cork seems rather to have been used to embark troops leaving Ireland, while Dublin served as the port of disembarkation for those arriving in the country.

On the 1st, 3rd and 4th May, 1764, the Regiment arrived in Dublin in three detachments each of three companies, remaining there just over twelve months. During the stay of the 51st in the Irish capital, there appears an Order every three months directing the "payment of the additional allowances to the effective non-commissioned officers and private men for doing duty in Dublin."²

¹ Nearly the whole of the information that here follows as to the service of the 51st in Ireland has been obtained from the Public Record Office, Dublin.

² This was at the rate of one penny a day, and seems to have been a special allowance for troops quartered in Dublin.

During the year 1764 the Regiment appears to have received its second set of Colours; there is no mention of this in any contemporary document, but in subsequent Inspection Reports, wherein the Colours are reported on, the date from which they have been in use is given as 1764.

There were several "Beating Orders" published at this period, empowering regiments in Ireland to enlist men for service; there is one dated the 8th April, 1765, addressed, among others, to the Officer commanding the 51st, ordering him "by beat of drum to raise a sufficient number of protestants in this kingdom as shall be willing to enlist."

On the 26th April, 1765, Major-General Montague was ordered to review the 51st and other Regiments at Dublin on the 3rd May. This was evidently of the nature of a farewell inspection, for the Regiment marched on the 8th and 9th May for Galway, apparently leaving behind Lieutenant David Winstanley, who was "authorized" on the 4th June "to act as Deputy Town Major of the Garrison of Dublin in the absence of Joseph Sirr, Esq., the Town Major of said Garrison, till further orders." While at Galway the Regiment seems to have provided detachments at Carrick-on-Shannon, Ballyshannon and Enniskillen. How long exactly the 51st remained at Galway it is not easy to determine; it was there on the 21st June, 1766, and still in that garrison on the 16th December of the same year, the former date being that on which the 51st and 55th were reviewed at Galway by Lieutenant-General Stanwix, while on the 16th December a warrant was "granted to Walter Hore, Esq., of the office and place of Advocate General and Judge Martial throughout the realm of Ireland, with power to him to appoint a Deputy. Pursuant to said power Walter Hore hath nominated and appointed Captain James Hogan of the 51st Regiment of Foot to be his Deputy in his absence to act as Advocate General and Judge Martial within the Garrison or Town of Galway."

About this period the 51st was repeatedly called upon to supply men for regiments serving in or proceeding to America, the bounty offered varying from forty shillings to five pounds.

In 1766, the composition and strength of the different Companies seem from the Muster Rolls to have been much as under:—

15th April, 1766. General Brudenell's Company: Carrick-on-Shannon. Thomas Brudenell, Colonel (absent by leave); Nicholas Cotterell, Captain-Lieut.; Thomas Clark, Ensign; William Noble, Chaplain; John Jarvis, Adjutant; John Smith, Surgeon; John Briscoe, Mate; two Sergeants, two Corporals and twenty-eight men.

7th April, 1766. Lieut.-Colonel Daulhat's Company : Ballyshannon. Peter Daulhat, Lieut.-Colonel (absent by leave); James Hogan, Lieut.; Edward Brick, Ensign (sick in Dublin); other ranks as in General Brudenell's Company.

7th April, 1766. Major Montgomery's Company : Ballyshannon. Richard Montgomery, Major; David Winstanley, Lieut. (Deputy Town Major in Dublin); John Jarvis, Ensign; other ranks as above.

5th April, 1766. Captain Franklin Kirby's Company : Enniskillen. Franklin Kirby, Captain; Richard Brown and Edward Fuller, Lieuts.; other ranks as above.

15th April, 1766. Captain de la Cour's Company : Carrick-on-Shannon.

Andrew de la Cour, Captain; Joseph Gill, Lieut.; John Henry Kearney, Ensign; other ranks as above.

7th April, 1766. Captain Lord Colvill's Company : Ballyshannon. David, Lord Colvill, Captain; Thomas Green, Lieut.; Thomas Evatt, Ensign; other ranks as above.

15th April, 1766. Captain James Campbell's Company : Carrick-on-Shannon.

James Campbell, Captain; Samuel Knollis, Lieut., (Recruiting); Barry Colles Meredith, Ensign; other ranks as above.

15th April, 1766. Captain Howard's Company : Carrick-on-Shannon.¹ William Howard, Captain (absent by leave); William Culliford, Lieut. (Recruiting); William Boothby, Ensign; other ranks as above.

5th April, 1766. Captain John Jaques' Company : Enniskillen. John Jaques, Captain (Recruiting); John Elford, Lieut.; Henry Lysaght, Ensign; other ranks as above.

Under date of the 11th May, 1767, the following curiously worded warrant was issued : " To deliver to the Colonels of the several regiments of Foot the quantity of powder expended by each Regiment . . . Half a barrel of powder to each of the nine Companies of the 51st Foot, Brudenell's, being the usual allowance of watch ammunition to the said regiment for six months from 25th March, 1767, to 29th September, 1767."

In the first half of the year 1767, Lieut.-General the Hon. Thomas Brudenell succeeded to the Barony of Bruce, and resigned the command. On 23rd June, 1767, he died, being at the time Governor of Windsor Castle; he was followed by Colonel the Hon. Archibald Montgomerie, afterwards Earl of Eglinton, whose appointment was dated the 24th June.

¹ From the above it seems possible that Carrick-on-Shannon and not Galway was the regimental headquarters.

How long the Regiment remained at Galway and out-stations such records as are available do not state, but the next station of the 51st was Kilkenny, and that the Regiment had arrived there by the 9th July is proved by the existence of an Order, dated the 3rd July, 1767, directing Lieut.-General Hodgson to "review the 51st Regiment of Foot at Kilkenny on the 9th July." The General's inspection report is of interest; we find it stated therein that of the officers twelve were English, four Scotch and eleven Irish; of the men 165 were English, fifty-one Scotch and sixty Irish, while there were in addition three foreigners. Only one man was over six feet in height, he being 6 ft. 1½ ins., only one man was 5 ft. 11 ins., and the larger proportion were between 5 ft 6 ins. and 5 ft. 8 ins. The Chaplain, Mr. Noble, was "absent by leave," his duties being performed by the Deputy Chaplain, the Rev. William Austin. General Hodgson remarks that the officers "salute indifferently," that the Sergeants' sashes were bad, but that new ones had been ordered. Further that the Grenadiers' Caps were defective; the hats of the officers were "plain."

In connection with the above remarks by the Inspecting General, it may be mentioned that at this time the clothing contractor for the 51st was one William Montgomery, the clothiers Messrs. John Nixon and Sons, and that the contract rate for clothing the Regiment seems to have been £1,003 9s. 2½d.

On what date the 51st left Kilkenny is not stated, but it must have been prior to the 23rd May, 1768, since on that date General Sandford was directed to inspect there the 3rd Horse and 1768 64th Regiment of Foot—the 51st not being mentioned; and the Returns for May of this year are signed on the 1st June, by Lieut.-Colonel Daulhat in *Dublin*. We can get at the actual dates of arrival by the Order sanctioning the extra pay issued in Dublin, and five Companies are awarded it from the 21st, and the remaining four from the 23rd May, inclusive. The stay in 1769 Dublin lasted almost exactly a year, the Regiment being reviewed on the 9th May, 1769, in the Phoenix Park by General Dilke, and apparently marching in two parties for Belfast on the 14th and 15th May, 1769.

In the returns from July 1767, the 51st is styled "Montgomerie's" but in that for November, 1769, it is for the first time called "Earl Eglinton's."

Many of the returns for 1769 and 1770 are signed "Andrew de la Cour, Major," from a place called "Johnston's Fews," a small barrack in County Armagh, between Armagh and Dundalk—a noted place for Rapparees—but the Headquarters was evidently at Belfast, where from June, 1769, Lieut.-Colonel R. Montgomery appears to

have been in command of the Regiment, although Lieut.-Colonel Daulhat did not actually retire from the service until August, 1770.

The next station of the 51st was Waterford, whither it seems to have moved some time in May, 1770, but already earlier in the year there were signs that the Regiment would ere long proceed on foreign service; on the 31st January, an Order had been issued directing "the greatest diligence to be exerted to compleat the Corps on the Irish Establishment, and the 51st and 61st Regiments to be permitted to recruit eighty Irish Protestants each"; an Order of the same tenor was re-published on the 2nd February; and on the 24th of the same month, it was announced that "the 3rd, 11th and 67th Regiments of Foot now at Minorca, and the 19th and 30th now at Gibraltar, shall be relieved in the ensuing autumn by the five following battalions, *viz.* : the 2nd Battalion of the Royal Regiment from Great Britain, and the 51st, 56th, 58th and 61st from Ireland. The said battalions to be prepared as soon as possible to be in readiness to embark for that service and to use the utmost diligence in raising recruits necessary to fill up these Regiments to the intended establishment previous to their embarkation, and although the four battalions from Ireland are not to be brought to Great Britain, they are to consider themselves as belonging to the British Establishment from the 25th December last, and are to receive from Great Britain directions relative to recruiting, etc."

In consequence and in amplification of the last-mentioned order, another was issued on the 10th April, 1770, which reads as follows :— "His Majesty's 51st, 56th, 58th and 61st Regiments of Foot, now on the Establishment of Great Britain but yet remaining in Ireland, to be each augmented with one Quartermaster, nine Sergeants, nine Corporals, nine Drummers, two Fifers, and 126 Private men, so as each Regiment may consist of one Colonel, one Lieut.-Colonel, one Major, six Captains, ten Lieutenants, eight Ensigns, one Chaplain, one Adjutant, one Quartermaster, one Surgeon, one Mate, twenty-seven Sergeants, twenty-seven Corporals, eighteen Drummers, two Fifers and 378 Private men, total 478. . ."¹

On the 6th July, Captain James Hogan was relieved by Lieutenant Dunlop, 53rd, as Deputy Advocate General of the Garrison and Town of Galway—no doubt in view of the approaching departure of the 51st on foreign service.

Lieut.-Colonel Montgomery continued to sign returns for the 51st up to the 1st September, 1770, although in the previous month

¹ It will be noticed that there is no mention of any "Captain-Lieutenant," but this is probably an oversight as Richard Brown held this rank in the 51st at this time. The rank was not abolished until June, 1803.

Lieut.-Colonel Henry Pringle, from the 56th Foot, had been appointed to the command ; and the returns dated the 1st October are signed by Colonel Pringle at Cork, whither the 51st must have marched from Waterford at some date during the previous month.

The following Order was published on the 17th October, 1770 :—
 “ The intended relief of five regiments to Minorca shall be postponed. The 56th and 58th Regiments now in Ireland shall, as soon as a man-of-war shall arrive in Cork, be forthwith embarked for Gibraltar to relieve the 19th and 30th Regiments there (who are to return to England). That in order the 56th and 58th Regiments may go compleat to Gibraltar, a draft of twenty-seven men shall be made from the Battalion Companies of the 51st Regiment (preferring the recruits last raised) to be incorporated into the 56th Regiment, and a similar draft from the 61st Regiment to be incorporated into the 58th Regiment, and the Regiments from which said drafts are made to be indemnified by the Regiments receiving same at the rate of £5, British, each man. The 56th and 58th are to embark at Cork, as owing to the size of the ship it cannot go to Kinsale. The 51st and 61st Regiments are to return to England on the arrival of the transports at Cork.”

During the autumn of this year the 51st seems to have had parties out in England on recruiting duty. In August a warning had been issued from the War Office to “ Officers with recruiting parties of the 51st in England ” requiring them to forward returns of their strength to the Secretary at War, and that in view of the likelihood of transports being at Cork at the end of September, “ all recruits are to proceed to the coast so as to be at Portsmouth or at Plymouth by 20th September. They are to embark in any convenient ship. Prior to the 18th September each Commanding Officer is to report to the Secretary at War and to the Adjutant General the name of the place at which he means to station his party. A return of the number of parties and the names of the officers with their stations is requested. It is hoped that the Regiment will be then compleat, but if any more men are wanting recruiting parties are to be left in Britain, and any recruits obtained by them are to be sent to Minorca at the earliest opportunity. Not less than one Field Officer, four Captains and eleven Subalterns are to embark, and the selection of the officers who are to go and of those who are to be left behind is to be settled between the Colonel of the Regiment and the Secretary at War.”¹

A fortnight later the Regiment was informed that owing to delay in embarkation “ the recruiting parties are to be as energetic as possible and are directed to station themselves so as to be able to embark any recruits they may obtain within four days after the

¹ W.O. 3/25.

receipt of definite sailing orders." Either Portsmouth or London is now particularly mentioned, as the transports are to sail from the latter and touch at the former port *en route* to Cork.

Orders¹ were now issued to the Commanding Officer of the 51st for observance on board the transports, and are briefly as under : " All men are to be sent on deck every morning. Berths are to be cleaned and bedding brought up on deck to air daily if the weather permits. Smoking between decks is forbidden. No gaming is allowed. No person is permitted to vend drams and spirituous liquors. During the daytime as many men as possible are to be on deck. If it should be necessary for the ship to put into harbour, no officer, non-commissioned officer or private is to go on shore but by the permission of the Commanding Officer of the transport ; and where private soldiers have permission they are to be accompanied by a non-commissioned officer who is answerable for their conduct on shore. The Commanding Officer is required to acquaint the men with the fact that in order to contribute towards the expense of provisions on board, the Paymaster General of the Forces is authorized to deduct 3d. per diem from the pay of every officer, non-commissioned officer and man on the full establishment while on board ship ; and the Colonel is to take care that the Agent or Paymaster stops no more than this 3d. The Commanders of vessels are to certify the number of days and the Paymaster is to give credit to the Agent for the amount of the stoppage in the first distribution that he shall remit to the Agent. On arrival at Minorca, the Commanding Officer is to follow such orders as he shall from time to time receive from his Excellency the Governor, or from the Commander-in-Chief."

When the 51st left Ireland cannot exactly be determined—the 61st embarked at Cork for Bristol on the 28th November, 1770 ; but there is in existence a letter dated 29th November, in which the sentence occurs—" the 51st and 61st are arrived at B." (evidently Bristol is meant) " but had not disembarked." At what particular port disembarkation was to take place does not appear to have been decided, since both at Plymouth and at Bristol letters, dated respectively the 30th and 31st October, were awaiting the Officer Commanding the 51st, directing him on arrival to " march thence to places mentioned in the margin and remain there till further orders." In accordance with these instructions four Companies were to be quartered at Taunton, two at Tiverton, and three at Wells.

It will be seen that at this date the Regiment contained nine companies only, but before the end of the year a considerable and important augmentation was ordered in the following letter² which

¹ W.O. 26/28.

² W.O. 26/28.

was addressed to "44 Marching Regiments," and amongst others to the 51st Foot.

"George R.

"Whereas we have thought fit to add one Company of Light Infantry consisting of three Sergeants, three Corporals, two Drummers and sixty-two Private Men besides Commissioned Officers to the 51st Regiment of Foot, Earl of Eglinton's, under your Command, and also to augment each of the old Companies of our said Battalion with twenty Private Men per Company. These are to authorize you by Beat of Drum or otherwise to raise so many men in any County, etc., as shall be wanted to compleat the said augmentation. And all Magistrates, etc."

"Given at our Court at St. James, the 25th December, 1770."

In consequence of the above, Captain Rankine, from half-pay of the 74th, was appointed Captain, Lieutenant Mercier from half-pay, and Ensign Lysaght, the senior of that rank in the 51st, were appointed Lieutenants.

The following, issued in July of the year following, defines the position on parade of the Light Company: "the Light Infantry Company is to be drawn up on the right of the Grenadiers when the Reviewing General is received. There is to be a distance of twenty paces between the Left of the Light Company and the Right of the Grenadiers. After marching by, when near the left of the Ground on which the Regiment is to form, the Light Company is to halt and take post on the Left when the Regiment forms. There is to be a distance of ten paces between the Right of the Light Company and the Left of the Battalion."

This augmentation did not, of course, take immediate effect; when reviewed at Taunton on the 14th February, 1771, the 51st had still but nine Companies; but when again reviewed on the 30th March by Lieut.-General the Hon. James Murray at Exeter, whither the Regiment had, on the 23rd February, been ordered to march, the tenth or Light Company was present on parade. The following is taken from General Murray's Inspection Report: "The old men of this Regiment make a very soldierlike appearance, remarkably well dressed, very steady under arms, good countenances, straight bodies, good shoulders and limbs; the size is low, but they are well-chosen and capable of any fatigue required of a soldier. This Regiment is fit for any service which the number of very young men in it will admit of. It is to be wished that it may be sent into Cantonments the first year after it arrives at Minorca, the garrison duty at St. Philip will be too severe upon the disciplined men and will retard the perfection to which one year in Cantonments will bring the young men to."

From the attention of the officers and every circumstance relative to the Regiment, it may be expected to be a very fine Battalion, though not a very tall one, in a short time ; the Corps of Officers are very tall, genteel, handsome young men, it is reported to me that their attention may be depended upon."

The uniform of the Officers is also described as follows in this Inspection Report : " Plain Scarlett lapelled to waist with plain deep Green Cloth, Cross Pockets with round Cuffs and falling Collars of Green Cloth, yellow Buttons with the number of Regiment, Laced Epaulettes with Gold Fringes—White Lining Waistcoates and Breeches and Gold Laced Hats with uniform Swords and Sword Knotts according to order."

On the 25th March, orders were issued for " the 51st Foot to march from their present quarters in two divisions, the first on Tuesday, 2nd April, and the second the day after, to Plymouth, where they are to be quartered and to remain until further orders." These further orders were issued five days later, when the Regiment was directed " to march and embark on board such vessels as shall be provided to carry the said Regiment to Minorca."

The Royals and the 61st Foot embarked at Plymouth on the 1st April, 1771, the 51st on the 6th or 8th ; there is no record of the exact date upon which the latter Regiment arrived at Minorca, but from the " Monthly Returns, Minorca," it is clear it had not reached its destination by the 1st May, but must have disembarked some time during this month, since it appears in the Returns dated the 1st June.

It may be well to offer the reminder that the Island of Minorca was first captured by the British in 1708, being ceded to us by the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. Rather more than forty years later—in July, 1756—it was retaken by the Spanish and French, Admiral Byng falling a victim to public indignation by reason of his failure to relieve it. It was finally restored to the British at the end of the Seven Years' War, and at the date when the 51st landed there the Island had been in our occupation for some eight years. The Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Minorca at this time was Lieut.-General John Mostyn, of whom the 51st had seen something in Germany, and who had been appointed in 1768 ; he seems, however, to have had bad health, was not much there, and did not hold the appointment very long. The Lieutenant-Governor was Major General James Johnston¹ who appears to have been at Minorca in that post since its rendition to the British.

At the beginning of 1771 there was peace in Europe, but in America, although the Indian war had at last come to an end, some fifteen

¹ *There were two Major-Generals of this name at this time of almost identical seniority, one the Colonel of the 1st Horse, the other of the 1st Dragoons.*

battalions of British Infantry were then still in the country, and the revolt of the American Colonies had already commenced.

On the 14th May, 1771, General Mostyn was able to report to the Home authorities that the 3rd, 11th and 67th Regiments were embarked and ready to sail for England immediately in the ships which had brought their reliefs, and these three Regiments arrived at home during the month of July, leaving as garrison at Minorca the 1st, 13th, 25th, 51st and 61st.

There is not much to chronicle about the life of the 51st in Minorca during the first three or four years of the stay of the Regiment in that Island; but according to the manuscript records it was quartered during 1771 and 1772 at Port Mahon under
 1772
 to
 1774
 Lieut.-Colonel Pringle, being then of a strength of about 380 Rank and File; in 1773 and 1774 it was in garrison at Fort St. Philip under Major De la Cour, and was composed of 368 Rank and File; while in the year 1775 it was at Alayor.

While quartered here it was inspected by Lieut.-General the Hon. James Murray,¹ who had relieved Major-General Johnston as Lieut. Governor on his arrival in the Island on the 24th December, 1774. Murray seems early to have apprehended some attempt would be made upon the Island by the fleets and armies of France and Spain, though Great Britain was nominally at peace with both these countries, and in March, 1775, he wrote home reporting
 1775
 preparations by these two Powers for "some grand military enterprize with Fleets and Armys." Later, on the 8th June, he announced the counter-measures he was taking, stating that he had "ordered 3,000 fascines and 9,000 pickets to be put into Fort St. Philip. . . wines, spirits and provisions of all sorts with necessarys of every kind I have secured," and adding "I think there are not five Battalions in His Majesty's service who can acquit themselves better than those I have the honour to command."

His inspection of the 51st had taken place shortly before this date—on the 18th April, 1775—and the text of his Report is here given :
 "Officers. Properly armed, salute well, clothed according to the regulation.

"Non-Commissioned Officers. In general old, of a soldierlike appearance, very expert and attentive to their duty, and are reported to me to be men of authority and brave old soldiers.

NOTE.—Almost everything that follows as to the service of the 51st at Minorca has been taken from Colonial Office, Minorca, Nos. 7-14 at the Public Record Office.

¹ Murray was Lieut.-Colonel of the 15th Foot in the Rochfort Expedition of 1757, commanded a brigade at Louisburg and at Quebec, was in command of the fortress during the siege of 1759-60, and on Canada being ceded to Great Britain in 1763, he was appointed Governor, holding that post till 1766.

- “ *Drummers and Fifers.* Beat and play well, and are good-looking young men and a great ornament to the Regiment.
- “ *Men.* The men are low, but very well made, straight, robust and active. They have much the air of soldiers, and are capable of undergoing all the hardships of war. They cover as much ground as any of the Regiments here.
- “ *Recruits since last Review.* Very good ; twenty-three exercised with the Regiment, and six have arrived from England since I reviewed it.
- “ *Manual Exercise.* Well performed and in the exact time.
- “ *Marching.* No regiment can march or carry their arms better than this.
- “ *Firings.* Very well performed ; they level remarkably well, but are not so quick as the regiments who have cut their arms ; they fire twice by sub-divisions in forty-six seconds.
- “ *Manœuvres.* They have been very well taught and do everything they are ordered with great precision and alacrity.
- “ *Arms.* Very good ; clean and in good order.
- “ *Accoutrements.* Most excellent accoutrements, and in good order, as indeed are all the appointments of this regiment, the Colours (which are old and ragged), six grenadier match cases and one saw, which are bad, and three match cases, which are wanted, being excepted.
- “ *Clothing.* Very good, made according to the regulation, and remarkably well fitted. The hats are well cocked and of the proper size. The fronts of the Grenadiers', Drummers', and Pioneers' Caps are covered with black goat-skin, the bear-skin having perished by the climate.
- “ *Gaiters.* Good and according to the regulation.
- “ *Regimental Book for the Entry of General Orders.* Properly kept and the orders have been regularly entered.
- “ *Regimental Accounts.* The men have been properly cleared and settled with to the 25th February, 1775.
- “ *Complaints.* None.
- “ *Officers absent without leave.* None.
- “ *Observations.* This is a very good regiment and fit for any service. What the men want in height they have in breadth, symmetry, strength and constitution. They are very well chosen, there is hardly a man in the Corps who is not perfectly well shaped ; if they aim at being taller they may lose their excellence. The standard of the men of Great Britain will admit of such a regiment as this ; it is impossible to have a uniform Corps if a higher size is insisted upon ; the essential properties of a soldier in that case are too often neglected for an inch in size which is of no consequence.

"This regiment has improved very much since it was reviewed by me at Exeter. The Adjutant is a most extraordinary good one, and he is very properly supported by the assiduity and zeal of the officers.

"The regiment has not forgot that it shared in the glory of Minden."¹

The Adjutant of the 51st here specially mentioned was Ensign William Gavin, who had been appointed adjutant from the 29th December, 1770—*without* commissioned rank—from Sergeant-Major of the 3rd Guards with which regiment he had served in Germany. The question of a commission for Gavin had been raised by Colonel Pringle early in 1772, and had drawn the following reply from the War Office, dated 7th April, 1772.²

"Dear Sir,

"On receiving the favour of your letter recommending Gavin, I immediately stopped anything being done in it till the Secretary at War received a letter from Lord Eglinton. I trouble you with this to let you know that his Lordship immediately recommended him and was happy to have the opportunity. It was a piece of justice to so deserving a man." This letter is signed "E. H."

Gavin's ensigncy is dated the 14th March, 1772.

On the 4th August of this year, Lord Rochford wrote to the Governor of Minorca announcing that two battalions of Hanoverian Infantry had been ordered to embark at Stade and proceed to Minorca in relief of the 2nd Battalion Royals and 13th Foot, which were to return to England in the same transports. The strength of each Hanoverian battalion was given as 471 all ranks, sixty women and "twelve servants." The two regiments detailed were Prinz Ernst's and Goldacker's, commanded by Colonels Sydow and Linsing. The transport conveying 116 of the first-named of these battalions ran ashore on the 4th November to the east of Dunkirk when *en route* to Minorca; no lives were lost, and the men being transferred to the transport *Charming Sally*, eventually reached their destination in safety.

On the 11th August, Lord Rochford announced that the King had been pleased to order the 51st and 61st (Elphinstone's (*sic*) and Barlow's) to be augmented by one Sergeant, one Drummer and eighteen Privates per company, and in order to complete them to the intended establishment instructions had been given that 400 invalid drafts, taken from the 41st Foot, then an Invalid Battalion, and from

¹ The original of this Report was given to the Regiment in April, 1868, by General Sir William Knollys, whose uncle, Samuel Knollis, was wounded with the 51st at Minden, and served with it at Minorca.

² W.O. 3/23.

the Independent Companies, should embark at Portsmouth. On arrival these were to be incorporated in the 51st and 61st as from the 25th August. On the disembarkation of these drafts the 25th Foot was to return to England in the same transports.

General Murray wrote, on the 4th November, reporting the arrival in the *John* Transport, of fifty drafted invalids, but announced that he was sending back three of the invalids "reported unfit for garrison duty." On the 27th he notified the arrival of the *Kent* with 150 more "about ten days ago, but a strong north wind springing up the *Kent* was obliged to put to sea again and has not been heard of since." Murray added "Captain Jakes (*sic*) and Lieuts. Culliford and Boothby of the 51st Regiment had luckily come on *shoar*, and Ensign Pringle of said regiment remained on board." In a postscript the General was able to state that the *Kent* was again in sight although unable to make the harbour. However, by degrees, other ships arrived, and finally on the 10th December, General Murray was able to report that all the expected troops, drafts and Hanoverians "are landed and doing duty," and that the 2nd Battalion 1st, the 13th and 25th Foot were embarked and ready to sail for England.

At the end of the year 1775 the 51st contained ten companies each of a strength of fifty-six privates, or a total of 477 all ranks. The four battalions now forming the garrison of Minorca had a strength of 2304.

On the 2nd March, 1776, an officer was gazetted to an ensigncy in the 51st, of whose connection with it the Regiment has always been very proud. This was John Moore who, having
1776 been born in November, 1761, was at this date no more than fourteen and a half years of age.

Some of his letters written at this time to his father and mother are given in his "Life"¹ and the following are extracts from them: in a letter dated London, 16th September, 1776, to his father, then in France, young Moore writes: "I have ordered my hat and buttons, etc." Then three days later he wrote again: "Mr. Drummond has been exceedingly attentive to me; he went with me to Mr. Mair's,² who, you know, is the agent to the 51st and in whose hands my commission is. Mr. Mair asked me if I chose to draw any of my pay which has been running on since the beginning of March, but I told him I had no need of it at present. He asked likewise whether and when I intended to join. I said I would join whenever he thought proper; but that as I had not seen my Mother for almost five years I should be obliged to him if he would allow me to spend three weeks or a month with her, and that after that I should be willing to join as soon as possible. He said that would be looked upon as in my way to

¹ "Life of Lieut.-General Sir John Moore, K.B.," by J. C. Moore. Vol. 2.

² Of Messrs. Cox and Mair, Craig's Court.

join. . . I spoke to Mr. Drummond about the fees that should be paid upon the receiving my commission ; he said that the agent paid all that and it would be taken off my pay. My uncle made me a present of an excellent sword ; it is likewise a very pretty one. I have a gold-laced hat with a fierce regimental cock to it, which would frighten any Frenchman that ever was. This is the first time I ever knew the use of a fierce hat, but you will agree with me that it is of the greatest. ”

Moore appears to have joined his regiment on the 16th or 17th January, 1777, and in a letter written on the 3rd February to his Mother, “ In my barrack room, Georgetown, Island of Minorca,” he says : “ I arrived here seventeen or eighteen days ago after waiting very near a month at Marseilles for the packet. I have been hitherto, I must confess, exceedingly lucky. I have got into one of the best regiments in the service (the 51st) ; as to officers I never knew such a number of fine gentlemanly lads. General Murray told me he did not believe there was such a Corps of Officers in the Army ; there is no such thing as either drinking or gambling going on. The Colonel dines and sups at our mess ; all the married officers live in one wing of the barracks and the unmarried in the other ; the latter mess together, and as Colonel Pringle has not brought his wife with him, he lives with us. We are exceedingly well lodged ; I have got a room as large as your drawing-room and two closets, one for my servant and the other where I sleep in ; they are each as large as the room I slept in at Glasgow ; elder officers have much more room, but for my part I think I have got plenty. I was obliged to stay above a week in an Inn at Mahon, which is a mile and a half from this and where the Governor resides, till I could get bedding, etc., bought, for you are only allowed the four stone walls, a chimney, shovel and fender. I was obliged to get sheets and blankets, towels, chairs, etc., made, which if I had remembered I could have got most of these things in Britain both cheaper and better, for they make you pay excessively dear for all these kind of things.

“ . . . All the people I have had letters to have been exceedingly kind to me, especially General Murray, who you know is one of the best officers in the service, and a very agreeable fine old soldier ; he is now making all kinds of preparations in case of a siege, and the officers of every regiment take it in turns to visit the subterranean that they may be perfectly acquainted with them in case of a siege. . . I have been with our officers already twice through them ; though as yet I do not know much more of them than when I began, yet I hope in two or three times more to make myself a little acquainted with them. . . ”

In another letter of this period, though the date is not given, Ensign John Moore wrote to his Mother : " I am very intimate with two or three of the officers, and I am upon a bad footing with none of them. I never have had the misfortune to have a quarrel with anybody since I joined the regiment ; so never was I happier in my life save those seven weeks I passed with you, dear Mother, in Glasgow."

During the year 1776, General Murray seems again to have been very apprehensive of some surprise attack being made upon the Island, and in September he sent home details of two plans which had come to his knowledge for the seizure of Fort St. Philip and the surprise of the troops at Port Mahon. Later—in December—he reported that he had given orders locally for the preparation of fascines and pickets, he had commenced the demolition of the town of St. Philip, and was laying in supplies of salt beef, corn, oil and wine, while he asked that sufficient pease and oatmeal be sent him from England to provision 3,000 men for six months. He also forwarded to England statements from the Chief Engineer, Principal Medical Officer, from the Commissariat and Ordnance notifying their requirements in the event of a siege.

To this the Home authorities returned the reply usual in such cases, that " at present there seems no immediate reason to apprehend any hostilities from France or Spain."

Murray, however, was not impressed by these remarks, and when in March, 1777, Captain Green of the 51st went home on leave to England *via* France, taking some of the General's despatches with him, he was told to keep his eyes open ; similarly when in May, Lieutenant Boothby, 51st, proceeded to England on " private affairs," he was directed to make all possible inquiry as to French war preparations on landing at Toulon : " he is a very sensible officer," wrote Murray to the Minister, " his report may be relied on."

At this time the Royal Artillery at Minorca was very short of trained gunners by reason of the many drafts which had been sent to America ; recruits in replacement of these had been promised from home.

The disposition of the Minorca Garrison from July to October, 1777, was as under :

61st at Fort St. Philip with detachments at Alayor and Fornells.
R. A. at Fort St. Philip.
Staff at Fort St. Philip.
Prinz Ernst's, George Town.
Goldacker's, George Town.
51st at Mahon with detachment at Ciudadella.

At Mahon there were one Lieut.-Colonel, four Captains, thirteen Subalterns, one Chaplain, one Adjutant, one Quartermaster, and one Ensign.

At Ciudadella were one Captain and one Surgeon's Mate.

General Mostyn does not seem to have been much in Minorca during the years 1777-8, which accounts for the correspondence between the local government and the Home authorities being at this time almost wholly conducted from Minorca by General Murray.

In January, 1778, Murray reported that he was busy with the completion of his preparations for the proper victualling of his garrison: on the 4th he wrote that there seemed no use in providing any stock of wine "as this is made sour by firing of guns and mortars in the fort," he is, therefore, indenting "for 16,875 gallons of good Spanish brandy, which at the rate of half pint per man per diem for 3,000 men will last three months: cost £1,200." He added that he had now ample supplies of all kinds: only in regard to the *strength* of his garrison does Murray seem to have had any misgivings, and he spoke of endeavouring to raise a Corps of local militia.

Writing again on the 8th February, the acting Governor mentioned something of what he had heard of French preparations for war at Toulon, and stated that as Lieutenant Moore of the 51st was going home on leave, he had "ordered him to inform himself of the particulars; he, though young, is a gentleman of observation and may be confided in."

Now at last Ministers began to think there might be something in General Murray's repeated warnings, and at the end of March it was announced that for the future the Minorca packet would sail from Leghorn instead of as heretofore from Marseilles. But this letter probably crossed one written home by Murray on the 28th March in which he stated that "Lieutenant William (*sic*) Moore very prudently returned here with the packet on seeing the Ambassador's circular letter that he had left the Court of France without taking leave."

Murray now considered there was no longer any doubt of war, and wrote that he was endeavouring to raise and bring to Minorca a reinforcement of 1,000 Corsicans, it being now too late to think of a Minorcan militia. But he proposed enlisting 500 Minorcans between the ages of sixteen and sixty to go into the works and aid in the defence. He reminded the people at home that at his last inspection of the 61st Regiment he had reported their arms unserviceable.

On the 21st, General Murray—wise in his generation—ordered all persons of French nationality, even those who were naturalized, to leave the Island before the 15th September.

By this time, officers who had been away on leave would seem to have been recalled, since on the 16th September, Murray reported the return *via* Gibraltar of Captain Boothby, Lieutenants Kearney and Pringle, Ensigns Malcolm and Styles, 51st Regiment, five officers of the 61st, one of the Engineers and two of the Hanoverians.

On the 7th October, the General reported that he was endeavouring to complete the two British regiments of the garrison with Minorcan recruits, fifty-seven being wanted ; he proposed giving a lieutenant's commission to a local gentleman, one Don Antonio Pasqueda, and to employ these men to garrison Ciudadella unless the Island should be invaded, when they would be brought into Fort St. Philip and there incorporated in the 51st and 61st Regiments.

On the 25th December, 1778, the 51st was augmented, the establishment being fixed at twelve companies each of three Sergeants, four Corporals, two Drummers and seventy Privates with two Fifers for the Grenadier Company, but these heroic measures seem to have been decided upon only when it had become increasingly difficult to send reinforcements to Minorca.

General Murray's last letter of 1778 and his first in 1779, both lament the serious increase in sickness in the two British regiments quartered in the Island. On the 20th December, 1778, he wrote : " in the memory of man there never was known here so unhealthy a summer and autumn ; the inhabitants have suffered equally with the troops. . . We hope soon to see the King's flag commanding these seas or a reinforcement to this sickly garrison."

Writing on the 13th January, 1779, he alluded to " the great sickness which has raged in the Island, it still continues with unremitting severity, and though not very mortal it
1779 reduces the patients to an inconceivable state of weakness and very few have had the good fortune to escape. It is what is called here a Tertiano, the discouraging circumstance is the difficulty to prevent a relapse. The Hanoverians, thank God, have hitherto been perfectly healthy, but the two British regiments are reduced amazingly, the greatest part of them look more like ghosts than soldiers, the invalids and drafted men of these regiments are totally worn out and if we are besieged I can expect no service from them. In short, if in the month of March or April, I can muster 1,400 able men, rank and file, including the artillery, fit to undergo the hardships of a siege, we shall be stronger than the present situation of the garrison promises."

In the same letter Murray asked for " twelve light brass field pieces "; he mentioned the recent death of Colonel Mackellar, the C.R.E. as " a great misfortune," especially as his successor, Major Walton, " is almost perpetually confined to his house by gout, while all the

other engineer officers, except four, are raw inexperienced young men."

On the 2nd February, the General expressed himself as "thoroughly persuaded the Island is to be attacked," but said he had done all possible for the defence of St. Philip's Castle; he expected that the enemy would land and lay the Island under contribution, seizing Port Mahon; he proposed bringing all shipping under the protection of the guns of the fort and the naval stores into the Fort and St. Stephen's Cove.

It must have been small satisfaction for General Murray to hear at this time from General Amherst that the Glasgow Regiment¹ had been under orders for Minorca for some months past, and that this reinforcement and a new C. R. E., a Lieut.-Colonel Bruce, would be dispatched whenever an opportunity occurred, for the garrison was well aware that they must rely upon their own unaided efforts were the Island to be attacked.

A letter from the War Office dated the 5th March, 1779, announced that Lieut.-Colonel De la Cour, then on leave in England, was too ill to rejoin and had applied for leave to sell out.²

On the 16th February, General Mostyn had died in Dover Street, London, and on the 23rd April, Lord Weymouth announced to General Murray that he had been appointed Governor *vice* the deceased General.

During this month the Governor seems to have been in some uncertainty as to which of his subordinates should succeed to the command of the fortress and the charge of the civil government in the event of him (Murray) being killed in the siege which he believed to be imminent. The two next senior officers were Colonel—or as he is called in the correspondence of this period—General Sydow of the Prinz Ernst Regiment of Hanoverians, and Colonel Pringle—a full Colonel since the 19th February of this year—of the 51st Foot. General Murray appears to have asked each of these officers to put his views on the matter in writing, and then forwarded the correspondence to the Home authorities. General Sydow, whose letter is in French, was not unwilling to allow Colonel Pringle to assume charge of the civil government of the Island in the event of Murray becoming non-effective, but protested against being expected to *dégrader* himself and the army he represented by allowing a junior officer to assume the military command over his head. Colonel Pringle's letter is here given *extenso*, but the matter was never really decided in favour of either officer, since the Minister before whom it was laid made the reply that Lieut.-General Sir William

¹ The 83rd Foot, then the Royal Glasgow Volunteers, would seem to be meant.

² Colonial Office, Minorca, 174/12.

Draper had been appointed Lieutenant-Governor and was expected shortly to set out for Minorca. To use, therefore, an expression which has become classic, "the question did not arise."

" Menorca,
25th April, 1779

" My Lord,

" As General Murray has lately agitated a question here which I understand he thinks proper should be laid before the King, relative to the rank the British and Hanoverian Officers would hold in case of his being killed during the siege of Fort St. Philip, I find it necessary to trouble your Lordship on that subject, least from the mention of my name in the Letters upon it, and of the British officers here, it might be inferred the matter originated from us, or that we had started a Point which might create a jealousy between the two Corps.

" General Murray lately, in conversation, asked me whether I thought the eldest British or Hanoverian Officer should take the Command in Fort St. Philip during the Siege, if He happened to be killed. As in this case I should be the eldest British Officer here, I wished not to give any opinion upon a Matter I really never thought of, and said it would be time enough to consider of it when the Event happened, when I was very certain I should have no dispute with Major-General de Sydow, for whom I have the greatest respect, and with whom I should most cheerfully co-operate for the King's Service, untill his, His Majesties, pleasure was known.

" However, as the General seemed to expect a more direct answer, I said, I did apprehend that an Officer, not a naturalised subject of Great Britain would be cautious to take the command of Fort St. Philip at least I did not well comprehend, how he should sign a Capitulation for it, if such a Measure became necessary. As General Murray's idea was perfectly the same, I did not expect it would have been pointedly mentioned as my declared opinion, and with a Latitude beyond the question; and as to that of the British Officers here, I am ignorant, as I have not conversed with them about it.

" However, in justice to them as well as to myself, if it is thought necessary to lay General Murray's letters on this Subject before the King, I must take the Liberty to request your Lordship will do me the Honour to let this accompany them, least his Majesty might be induced to think that they or I officially created a Question I rather wished to have been silent upon, and the more especially, as no reasonable information whatsoever, has come to my knowledge, to

make me think, the French either had or have the smallest intention to besiege this place.

"I have the Honor to be my Lord,
"with the greatest respect, your Lordship's,
"most obedient and most Humble Servant,

"Henery Pringle
"Colonel in the Army
"and Lt.-Colonel 51st Regiment.

"Lord Viscount Weymouth,
etc., etc."

There is no record of any specially noteworthy occurrences connected with the 51st Regiment in the year 1780, except that in February the establishment was fixed at one
1780 Colonel, one Lieut.-Colonel, one Major, nine Captains, fourteen First Lieutenants, ten Ensigns, one Chaplain, one Adjutant, one Quartermaster, one Surgeon, one Mate, thirty-six Sergeants, forty-eight Corporals, twenty-four Drummers, two Fifers, and 840 Privates, the total all ranks being 991.

Some short time later in the year the number of Privates was reduced to 672 with a total of all ranks of 823.

On the 8th May, 1781, Murray reported that Lieutenant Nesbitt of the 51st was proceeding home with despatches, and that
1781 it had been agreed to make this officer an allowance of £25 for his expenses. Nesbitt appears to have reached London safely in June.

In July a rumour reached Murray at Minorca that the siege of Gibraltar, which had been in progress upwards of two years, had been raised, and it was confidently expected that the besieging army would now be joined by 8,000 French and would shortly attack Minorca. These rumours grew, and in October General Murray wrote home that he had heard that a battering train and two regiments of Foot were to have left Toulon for Minorca on the 25th September. Murray's hopes of a reinforcement of Corsican volunteers do not seem to have materialized, for at this date he was only able to announce the arrival of fifteen Corsicans to serve in the garrison, one of these being a nephew of General Paoli, the Corsican patriot. Two hundred more Corsicans were expected.

The Franco-Spanish preparations for the capture of Minorca had some time past been completed; a French fleet of eighteen capital ships, under de Guichen, had sailed from Brest at the end of June, and had joined the Spanish fleet of thirty ships of the line under Don Louis de Cordova, the united fleets leaving Cadiz for Minorca towards the end of July. Carried in these or in the accompanying transports were 10,000 Spanish troops under the Duke de Crillon,

a Frenchman in the service of Spain, and this force was joined in the latter half of August by six French battalions from Toulon under Major-General Count de Falkenhayn.

The disembarkation of the Spanish troops, which was effected on the 19th August, seems to have been an admirable piece of work, for it was completed in five hours in the Bays of Biniancolle and Alcanfar and in Sandy Bay. Three hours later Port Mahon was seized, and the Spaniards made prisoners in Fornette and Ciudadella of two officers—Lieutenants Butler, 51st, and Smith, 61st, and forty-seven invalids incapable of performing any military duty. In Mahon and Georgetown were the wives of some officers and civilians who had been left there when the troops withdrew into the fort; among these ladies—to whom de Crillon seems to have shown all possible civility—were the wives of Captains Elford and Boothby, Lieutenant Mercier and Lieutenant and Quartermaster Phipps of the 51st Regiment.

In a letter dated the 29th August, which seems to have got through, General Murray reported that his garrison was in high spirits and that his numbers were increased by a Corps of 545 seamen under command of Captain Lawson, R.N. of the *Minorca* sloop.

In spite of the comparative closeness of the blockade the Franco-Spanish navies do not seem to have been able to prevent a certain amount of going and coming between the mainland and the island; thus on the 12th November, Murray was able to announce that "the *St. Philip's Castle* arrived yesterday from Leghorn and brought to us Colonel Pringle, his nephew Lieutenant Pringle and Lieutenant Styles of the 51st and a recruit of fifty Corsicans" (whether these officers had been on leave or engaged in recruiting is not stated). "I had almost forgot to tell your Lordship that Lieutenant Butler of the 51st Regiment and Lieutenant Smith of the 61st are here" (at Fort St. Philip) "having been exchanged for two officers of the same rank. . . I have further to add that eight battalions of French have actually joined the besiegers and I believe some battalions from Spain with artillery and stores to carry on a brisk siege. The garrison seems to like this amusement better than a dull blockade."

On the 15th October, Captain George Don, 51st Regiment, then holding the two appointments of Adjutant General and Private Secretary to General Murray, whose relation he seems to have been, had been sent by Murray to de Crillon at Port Mahon, when the Spanish commander made some remarkable proposals. He had already thrown out hints of a similar character to a Mr. Larivière, Don's clerk, who had carried letters and remittances to the ladies and officers at Port Mahon, and he now informed Don that he, de Crillon, was authorized to treat with General Murray for the surrender of the island, and that Murray might have what sum he pleased, beginning

with a million ! Here Captain Don very properly interrupted him, said he need go no further, and that he was egregiously mistaken as to General Murray's character if he imagined he would listen to proposals of such a nature.

Nothing daunted, de Crillon said he knew for a fact that there was a very strong party in England opposed to Murray, who might very shortly expect to be relieved of his appointment. Captain Don assured de Crillon he was misinformed.

The Spanish commander now said England was "finished with," that no succour was forthcoming, the combined fleets were twice as powerful as the British, peace could not be made so long as Fort St. Philip held out, adding that while he had now only forty siege guns he would soon have 180, a large army and the best engineers in Europe. The place would then be heavily attacked, humanity required the saving of bloodshed, and that General Murray had done enough for glory ; there were means, he added significantly, by which a fortress might be "honourably" surrendered, such as the "accidental" discharge of a mine, a "mistake" in the defence of a post, and that it was a pity to sacrifice brave men.

Captain Don said a soldier must submit to his fate, that of course no fortress was absolutely impregnable, and de Crillon might batter the works and make capitulation inevitable, but he had best not flatter himself with the hope of obtaining possession by other means, since a siege was what the defenders most ardently desired. The interview then terminated.

On the 10th December, Lord Hillsborough wrote to inform Murray that Major General Charles Rainsford, Colonel of the 44th Foot, was being sent out to Minorca as third in command, but he does not seem to have arrived before the siege came to an end.

The effect of the six months' siege now began to be apparent, and on the 20th December, General Murray had to report that scurvy had made its appearance and he feared the disease would play havoc with the garrison, since "half the troops have lived for eleven years on salt provisions and the others not less than six years."

The year 1782 opened with no prospect of relief, and on the 4th February Murray proposed certain terms of capitulation, which were rejected by de Crillon on the grounds that he could not accept any surrender under which the garrison did not become prisoners of war.

There does not appear to be extant any diary of the siege from which a satisfactory record of the defence might be obtainable. The besiegers numbered 16,000, they had at their disposal 109 heavy guns and thirty-six great mortars, but although the fortress was in some respects very strong, the works were far too extensive to permit of their being adequately manned by the greatly reduced and enfeebled

garrison. But the defence was no mere passive one; early in November, 1781, the defenders made a vigorous and successful sally, beat up de Crillon's quarters at Cape Mola and chased him thence, maintained their position for twenty-four hours, and returned to the fortress with a hundred prisoners, among whom were eight or nine officers.

On the 18th January, 1782, the "state" of the 51st shows one Colonel, one Major, five Captains, seventeen Subalterns, twenty-six Sergeants and only 261 other ranks. On the 1782 1st February, the 51st Regiment required for one day's guard and relief 172 men, but could find only 158; for picquet seventy-four men were needed, but no more than sixty were forthcoming; while for "the West and Carolina," where a reserve of twenty-seven was called for, only twelve could be found fit for duty. All men, including officers' servants, were on the duty roster. There is a Return, dated the 3rd February, of "the scorbutic men in the four regiments now doing duty in the garrison of St. Philip," and the numbers are: "51st 120, 61st 111, Prinz Ernst's 153, Goldacker's 176."

Murray called a Council of War composed of all his field officers, who proposed a suspension of arms for a month, the fortress to be surrendered if, after the expiration of this term, no relief had reached them. But the General rejected this counsel, mainly, no doubt, because he did not think the opposing commander would agree to such terms.

The end, however, had now come, and on the 5th February, Fort St. Philip was surrendered to the Duke de Crillon. The despatch in which General Murray announced the capitulation to Lord Hillsborough is dated the 16th February, 1782, and is a very moving document. He states that all he had able to carry arms were 660 men of whom 560 were actually tainted with the scurvy, while the necessary guards required 415 men, leaving a deficiency of 170 for purposes of relief.

"Such," wrote Murray, "was the uncommon spirit of the King's soldiers that they concealed their disorders and inability rather than go into the hospitals; several men died on guard, after having stood sentry; their fate was not discovered till called upon for the relief, when it came to their turn to mount again. Perhaps a more noble, nor a more tragical scene was ever exhibited than that of the march of the garrison of St. Philip through the Spanish and French armies. It consisted of no more than 600 old decrepit soldiers, 200 seamen, 120 of the Royal Artillery, twenty Corsicans, and twenty-five Greeks, Turks, Moors, Jews, etc. The two armies were drawn up in two lines, the battalions facing each other, forming a way for us to march through; they consisted of 14,000 men, and reached from the Glacis

to Georgetown, where our battalions laid down their arms, declaring they had surrendered them to God alone, having the consolation to know, the victors could not plume themselves in taking an hospital. Such was the distressing figures of our men that many of the Spanish and French troops are said to have shed tears as they passed them."

General Murray added that Captain Don, 51st Regiment, was to take home this despatch, and stated that "he is well acquainted with the most minute circumstances relative to the siege, is an intelligent, distinguished officer. . . . The Captains Savage, Boothby and Don of the 51st Regiment, Lieutenant Mercier of ditto, Lieutenant Botticher of Goldacker's Regiment, and Lieutenant Douglas the Engineer, are exchanged for the officers we made prisoners at Cape Mola. Colonel Pringle and his nephew, Lieutenant Pringle, are to be left hostages until the transports return agreeable to the capitulation."

The casualties during the siege were comparatively few—two officers, three Sergeants and fifty-four Rank and File being killed, and fifteen officers, ten Sergeants and 124 other ranks being wounded. Among the wounded officers were Colonel Pringle, Captain Savage, Lieutenants Fuller and Hull, and Ensign Napier, of the 51st.

There were nine Articles of Capitulation as finally arranged. Under these the garrison was to be prisoners of war, but in consideration of "their constancy and valour shown in their brave defence, they shall be permitted to go out with their arms shouldered, drums beating, lighted matches, and Colours flying, till having marched through the midst of the army, they shall lay down their arms and Colours." The troops were not to serve during the war unless regularly exchanged, and hostages were "to be delivered on both sides for the faithful performance of the articles of capitulation."

General Murray being in bad health was permitted to go home *via* Marseilles, but one regrets to have to chronicle that he had not very long reached England before he was brought before a General Court-Martial. There had been no cordiality between General Murray and Sir William Draper, and shortly before the end of the siege, Draper was suspended by the Governor. After they had both reached home Draper preferred twenty-nine charges of misconduct of a most miscellaneous character against Murray, who was tried by a General Court-Martial, presided over by General Sir George Howard, in November and December, 1782. Colonel Pringle, Captains Elford and Knollis, the last-named then a Brevet-Major and apparently officiating as an Assistant Quartermaster-General, were all cited as witnesses on the Court-Martial. The Court honourably acquitted the accused of all the charges, save two of very minor importance, and sentenced him to be reprimanded. The King

approved the finding and sentence, but in recognition of General Murray's past services dispensed with any reprimand other than that conveyed by the finding. The King also expressed much concern that an officer of Sir William Draper's rank and distinguished character should have allowed his judgment to be so perverted by any sense of personal grievance as to view the general conduct of his superior officer in an unfavourable light, and in consequence to exhibit charges against him which the Court, after diligent investigation, considered to be frivolous and unfounded. Lest some intemperate expressions let fall by Sir William Draper should lead to further trouble the Court dictated an apology to be signed by Draper and accepted by Murray.

Newspaper accounts of the trial describe Murray as "very much broke," but Draper is said to have looked "exceedingly well and in the flower of his age ; his star " (he had been created a K.B. in 1766) "was very conspicuous and his arm always carefully disposed so as never to eclipse it !"

NOTE.—It is curious to notice that the 51st had now taken part in three campaigns and that in each one of these their Commanders had been court-martialled—Generals Mordaunt, Lord George Sackville and Murray.

ENGLAND, IRELAND, GIBRALTAR, CORSICA AND ELBA

1782-1797

IX

THERE seems to be no means of determining the exact date or dates upon which the 51st, and the other regiments which had formed the garrison of Minorca, sailed thence to England. There are, however, certain documents in existence from which it is possible approximately to fix the time when the 51st reached home.

The first of these is a letter¹ dated Plymouth, 12th April, 1782, in which General Haviland acknowledges the receipt from the 1782 Secretary at War of an Order in Council exempting the troops expected from Minorca from "the restraints of quarantine."

In the next,² written from Portsmouth on the 15th June, Captain Charles Savage of the 51st reports the arrival of two Cartel Ships with five companies of the Regiment under his command. By order of Lieut.-General Lord George Lennox, commanding at Portsmouth, these are to "disembark on Monday and march on Tuesday morning for Fareham."

On the 16th June, Lord George Lennox reported the arrival of "near 300 of the 51st and 61st Regiments at Portsmouth in Spanish Ships from Minorca, and that the rest of the garrison may be daily expected. Hopes that those arrived will march to Titchfield and Fareham according to routes received some time ago."

On the 24th June, an order³ was issued to Lord George Lennox, informing him that "it is His Majesty's pleasure that you cause the parties of the 51st and 61st Regiments at Fareham and Titchfield to march thence on Monday, 1st July, next by the shortest and most convenient route to Southampton where they are to be quartered and remain till further order."

On the following day General Haviland reported⁴ "the return of Detachments of the Garrison of Minorca arrived in Cartel ships at Plymouth and Falmouth," and stating that of the 51st there were at the last named place four Sergeants, one Corporal and twenty-one Privates. These had arrived "on board the *Speranza*, a Tuscan ship from Leghorn," under Lieut. Richard Stewart of the 51st.

¹ W.O. 1/1015.

² W.O. 1/1017.

³ W.O. 5/64.

⁴ W.O. 1/1015.

Then there is a letter¹ signed "John Jaques, Major, 51st Regiment," and dated Gosport, 5th July, reporting that "three Companies of His Majesty's 51st Regiment are arrived at Portsmouth from Minorca. We are landed this day," he wrote, "and are marching to Fareham agreeable to our route. Another transport which is daily expected will have completed the arrival of the Regiment."

Then follow two letters² from Lord George Lennox at Portsmouth, dated respectively the 7th and 8th July; in the first he acknowledges the receipt of routes sent for three companies of the 51st lately landed at Southampton, and adds that "to-morrow they will march accordingly"; and in that of the 8th he reports the arrival of two more companies of the 51st that morning—"they will disembark to-morrow and march immediately to Fareham."

By the 18th July, Major Jaques, who, in the absence of Colonel Pringle detained as a hostage in Minorca, was commanding the Regiment, had arrived at Southampton, for on that date he wrote³ to the Secretary at War, saying: "I have the honour inclosed to send you a Return of the State of the 51st Regiment, together with a column specifying the number of men unfit for service. The men rejected are old and otherwise useless, but some particulars may yet be serviceable in Garrison Duty but not proper for fatigue or marching. Amongst those we have kept there are some who though not young men have yet service in them for some years to come. We have been particular in our scrutiny of the companys, but I should be very glad if some one was sent down to be a judge if those men rejected and those we have kept are properly arraigned for the benefit of His Majesty's Service."

The "Return" mentioned in the above-quoted letter is unfortunately not forthcoming, but it would appear that, by reason of casualties in Minorca and discharges at home, the 51st Regiment was speedily reduced to a strength of 264 Rank and File.

On the 20th July, Lieutenant Richard Stewart of the 51st, complained that he was still detained at Falmouth, although, according to instructions received as far back as the 20th June, he had reported his arrival to General Haviland at Plymouth. His complaint was heard, for on the 29th July he was ordered to march to Plymouth with parties of the 51st and 61st Regiments, and "will start to-morrow."

The stay of the regiment at Southampton was but a brief one, it being ordered to Leeds on the 11th September. Its return to the County with which it had originally been connected seems to have been very popular, and the *Leeds Intelligencer* of the 15th October, reminded its readers that "the Regiment was raised in this County

¹ W.O. 1/1016.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

under the patronage of the Marquis of Rockingham and Sir George Savile, Bart. Lady Rockingham once headed a recruiting party herself, which so spirited up the young fellows that many flocked in and enlisted under her Ladyship's banners and the Regiment was soon completed."

Charles, Marquis of Rockingham, Prime Minister of England and Lord Lieutenant of the West Riding, had died on 1st July, 1782. The First West Riding of Yorkshire Militia, which in 1881 became the Militia Battalion of the Regiment and since 1887 has been known as the 3rd Battalion K.O.Y.L.I., was embodied under the command of Colonel Sir George Savile, Bart., M.P., from 3rd March, 1778, to March, 1783, and furnished a number of stout Yorkshire lads to fill the depleted ranks of the 51st soon after the Regiment reached Leeds on 12th October, 1782, while Lieutenant Henry Priestley from the First West York Militia received an Ensigncy in the 51st dated 10th March, 1783. By a happy chance Major John Jaques, himself a native of Leeds, was in temporary command of the 51st when the Regiment returned to its county of origin.

It was during the year 1782, and probably while quartered at Leeds, that a new set of Colours was issued to the 51st to replace those surrendered at Minorca. The actual date and month of the issue is not discoverable in any document of this period. At this time, and for some years later, the issue of Colours was entirely the affair of the Commanding Officer, who made his own arrangements for replacement as he did for clothing, being required only to conform to the regulations in force at the time as to the devices, etc., appearing upon them. There was then no religious ceremony connected with the handing over of Colours to a Regiment, and it is only possible to arrive at the year of issue by noting the remarks at successive inspections of general officers who, when inspecting a Regiment, had to report upon the state of the Colours, whether they were in accordance with the regulations, and how long they had been in use. Thus we learn the date of issue of these Colours from an inspection report dated 9th July, 1785, wherein we read that the Colours "were received in 1782."¹

At the end of 1782 the authorities were apparently considering the question of giving territorial titles to regiments, and from the following letter from Major Jaques, dated Leeds, 27th October, 1782, it seems that he had received some notice of what was in view, coupled with instructions to recruit only in the West Riding. His letter runs²: "I had the honour to receive Beating Orders for the 51st Regiment, wherein it is exprest that the Recruits shall be raised in the West Riding of Yorkshire. As we had made our disposition

¹ W.O. 27/53.

² W.O. 1/1016.

to recruit in different parts of the Kingdom I should be glad, Sir, to be informed if we are to confine ourselves to the West Riding of Yorkshire or to send our Partys to different other Countys where there likewise may be a probability of success. The 16th Regiment at present quartered with us at Leeds, together with the many Recruiting Parties stationed in this town and different parts of Yorkshire, will make it very difficult to raise Recruits for the 51st Regiment unless we are permitted to send parties to the neighbouring County."

In connection with the above an order appeared,¹ dated 1783 23rd February, 1783, conferring territorial titles upon certain regiments; it was as follows:

"George R.

"We have been pleased to direct that our 51st Regiment of Foot shall take the County name of the 2nd Yorkshire, West Riding, Regiment, and be considered as attached to that district of the said County. . ." In the same way and in the same letter the 33rd Regiment of Foot was named as the 1st Yorkshire, West Riding, Regiment of Foot, and these new titles appear for the first time in the Army List for 1784.

In the previous December, on the 25th, it had been enacted that "the two additional companies of our 51st Regiment of Foot shall be reduced and instead thereof that our said Regiment shall be augmented with one company for the purpose of recruiting, which is to consist of six Sergeants, eight Corporals, four Drummers and thirty Privates, besides Commissioned Officers." This letter drew a plaint from Captain Cottrell Mercier of the 51st, who wrote from Leeds on the 31st March, 1783: "In consequence of the two additional companies of the 51st being reduced, are the officers also included? A large family and a long journey to Ireland with the service of upwards of twenty-three years in the line of an officer are circumstances which I hope will in some measure apologize for taking this liberty."

This appeal was made in vain, for Captain Mercier was placed this year on half-pay and thereby severed his connection with the 51st Regiment.

Early in the year 1783, some rather contradictory orders were received by the Commanding Officer. Thus on the 13th February, instructions were issued for "the 51st Foot at Leeds to march thence in two divisions" (each of five companies) "to Berwick to be quartered and remain till further order." Four days later the Regiment was directed "to remain in their present quarters until further order." Then on the 25th February, the Commanding Officer

¹ W.O. 26/31.

learnt that "it is His Majesty's pleasure that the 51st Foot at Leeds (leaving its additional company in their present quarters) do march in two Divisions to Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Gateshead where they are to be quartered." And finally orders dated the 6th March, were sent "by Express" to the "Commanding Officer of the 51st Foot on their arrival at Newcastle-on-Tyne," directing "the 51st on their arrival at Newcastle-on-Tyne to be quartered and proceed thence in two divisions to Berwick, where they are to be quartered and remain until further order."

On the 28th June, on the conclusion of Peace, the establishment of the 51st was fixed at 408 Privates, or a total of 471 of all ranks.

We come upon an echo of Captain Mercier's petition in a letter from Major Jaques written from Berwick on the 6th July, 1783, in which he inquires about the situations of the "segooned" (*sic*) officers of the 9th and 10th Companies, and asks "whether they are to be at large or remain with the Regiment or to be employed upon the Recruiting Duty." What, if any, reply he received the records do not reveal.

The "long journey to Ireland" dreaded by Captain Mercier was now near at hand. Lord North, in a letter¹ dated the 16th September, 1783, signified "a plan for the Peace Establishment of our Kingdom of Ireland," and later, on the 18th January, 1784, Lord Sydney made known "our Pleasure that in consequence of the said plan the under-mentioned Regiments be sent to Ireland, *viz.* . . . the 51st Foot . . . and placed on that Establishment." Then finally a "Royal Letter for placing upon the Military Establishment of Ireland the Regiments and Companies hereinafter named," was "Given at our Court of St. James's, 1st April, 1784."

According to this "Royal Letter" the 51st was to be placed on the Irish Establishment from the 9th November, 1783, at a strength as under: one Colonel and Captain, one Lieut.-Colonel and Captain, one Major and Captain, five Captains, ten Lieutenants, including one Captain-Lieutenant, six Ensigns, one Chaplain, one Adjutant, one Quartermaster, one Surgeon, one Mate, sixteen Sergeants, twenty-four Corporals, eight Drummers, two Fifers, 384 Privates, or a total establishment of 463 all ranks.

When the Regiment left Berwick and from which port it sailed to Ireland does not appear to be on record, but it embarked in three ships, the *Sisters* conveying one Major, one Captain, one Lieutenant, one Ensign, one Quartermaster, one Surgeon, two Sergeants, four Corporals, four Drummers, fifty Privates, eleven women and seven children; in the *Rodney*, were one Captain, one Lieutenant, three Ensigns, one Surgeon's Mate, three Sergeants, four Corporals, one

¹ These that here follow are all in W.O. 7/8.

Drummer, fifty-two Privates, sixteen women and three children ; while in the *Dublin* were accommodated four Lieutenants, one Ensign, one Adjutant, five Sergeants, nine Corporals, one Drummer, 102 Privates, thirty women and four children. The disembarkation was effected at Donaghadee on the 9th and 11th November, 1783, the operation being carried out under direction of Lieut.-Colonel Charles Eustace, D.Q.M.G. by Francis and John Carleton, "Agents to the Disembarkation Service."

The disembarkation return shows one Major, two Captains, six Lieutenants, five Ensigns, one Adjutant, one Quartermaster, one Surgeon, one Mate, ten Sergeants, seventeen Corporals, six Drummers, 204 Privates, fifty-seven women and fourteen children. A note adds that the Regiment was 147 men short of the Establishment.

The following officers were absent on recruiting duty, *viz.* Captains Boothby and Brick, Lieutenant Richard Stewart and Ensign Shawe ; while absent on leave were the Earl of Eglinton, Colonel (now Major General) Pringle, Major Knollis, Captains Elford and Savage, Captain-Lieut. Butler, Lieutenants John Pringle, Allen, Hull, Robert Pringle, Ensign Alcock and Chaplain Noble.

The first station of the 51st during this tour of service in Ireland was Omagh.

During the year following—1784—considerable effort seems to have been made to bring the regiment up to establishment, as many as seven officers being at one time shown in the
1784 returns as absent on recruiting duty in England and Ireland.

The Chaplain, the Rev. W. Noble, was but little with his flock, his duties being performed by two other clergymen, one named O'Neile, the other Gardiner. In February we find that Captain Elford had been appointed Lieut.-Governor of St. John's, Newfoundland ; and on the 29th April, a petition was forwarded to the authorities, the answer to which is not traceable, signed amongst others by Majors Jacques and Knollis, 51st, asking that a regulation be drawn up "in favour of your faithful old Majors," granting them the rank of Lieut.-Colonel after three years' service as Major.

As the Monthly Return for June 1st, 1784, is dated from Galway it seems that the Regiment must have marched thither from Omagh at some time during May.

On the 7th January, 1785, it was ordered that from the 25th December, 1784, inclusive, each company was to be reduced from forty-eight to forty-two privates and also one drummer per company, the establishment then being eight companies of forty-two privates, and the detail being as under : one Colonel, one Lieut.-Colonel, one Major, five Captains, ten Lieutenants, six Ensigns, one Chaplain, one Adjutant, one Quartermaster, one Surgeon, one Mate, sixteen

Sergeants, twenty-four Corporals, eight Drummers, two Fifers, 336 Private Men, Total 415. "N.B. two Captains, two Lieutenants and two Ensigns to be En Second unless vacant by death, promotion or otherwise."

At different times during the early part of this year the Regiment had detachments at Westport and Tuam, Ensign Potts being stationed at the last-named place, and Captain J. Pringle, Lieut. Hull and Ensigns Tourle and Shawe at Westport.

Up to May, 1785, all the Returns had been signed by Major Jaques, but that dated June 1st is signed by Lieut.-Colonel Pringle from Dublin, so that he must have rejoined the 51st some time in May in time to accompany it to its new station, and exercised command for some two months only. He was probably present when on the 9th July, the Battalion was inspected by Lieut.-General the Hon. H. Lutterell who remarked of the men that they were "of a good size, young and well made," and of the 51st generally—"This Regiment which made but an indifferent appearance last year now merits great praise."

The Clothing Contractor while in Ireland was Sir William Montgomery, the Clothier being one John Moore, and the bill for clothing amounted to £1348 7s. 6d.

Colonel Pringle was in command again during August and September. Sometime in May, 1786, the Regiment moved to Armagh, and this year there was a further change in the chaplaincy, Mr. Noble; who was still on leave in England, being represented during 1786 the early part of the year by the Rev. Mr. Higginbotham until, in June, Noble resigned and his place was filled by the Rev. James Saurin, who promptly, in accordance with what had come to be a well-established precedent, went away on leave putting the Rev. Mr. English in to act for him.

In February and March Jaques was commanding, in April and May Pringle, Jaques again in June and Pringle again in July, and it seems to have been in this month that Colonel Pringle sent in a memorial to the Duke of Rutland, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

"The Memorial of Major-General Pringle, Lieut.-Colonel of His Majestys 51st Regiment of Foot, most humbly sheweth, that Memorialist has the honour to have served the King as an officer near forty years without intermission except a few months on half-pay by being reduced at the Peace of 1746. That Memorialist served from the beginning of the former war in America to the reduction of Quebec, Montreal and all Canada under the command of Lord Amherst, in which service he was wounded and taken prisoner by the French and Indians in an action where eleven officers and 125 men were killed out of 162.

"That Memorialist in the same war served at the siege of Fort Royal in Martinico and the reduction of that island under General Monckton, and then at the taking of the Grenadas under General Walsh, and afterwards at the siege of the Havannah under Lord Albemarle, where he remained in garrison until the Peace of 1762.

"That Memorialist served in the late war in Minorca eleven years, and also in Fort St. Philip during the siege when he received a dangerous wound, and upon the reduction of that Fort became a prisoner to Spain and was sent a Hostage to Madrid.

"That Memorialist being reduced at the Peace of 1748, though he had purchased his commission bought again immediately at a great expense into the Army, in which he has laid out in the purchase of his several Commissions a considerable sum of money, particularly in his present one of Lieut.-Colonel, which he made sixteen years ago in His Majesty's 51st Regiment, although then under orders for foreign service, and on which it actually went under the command of your Memorialist.

"That Memorialist having thus expended his fortune, and passed the best part of his life in the King's Service, in America, the West Indies and Minorca, without ever enjoying any Military Emolument whatsoever, except his half-pay as an officer, and being now advanced in years and alarmed by frequent returns of headaches from a dangerous contusion on his head by a grape-shot at the Siege of Fort St. Philip, is therefore urged, from the consideration of his Wife and Children (for whom at his time of life it is impossible to realize a provision from the bare pay of Lieut.-Colonel) to dispose of that Commission for their use.

"Your Memorialist therefore prays your Grace will humbly move the King that His Majesty will be graciously pleased to permit him to retain his rank as Major-General in the Army, and in order to make some provision for a numerous family, to dispose of his Commission of Lieut.-Colonel which he bought.

"And, in consideration of near forty years active and laborious service, mostly abroad, and your Memorialist hopes with some degree of Reputation, as also of the very great expenses he has been at in the purchase of his several commissions, by his being reduced at the Peace of 1748, and from other incidents which he has had the honour to lay before your Grace, that your Grace will likewise move the King that His Majesty will be graciously pleased to confer some mark of his Royal favour on your Memorialist to reimburse him those expenses, either by a Government appointment or to be placed on the staff of this Kingdom when an opportunity offers ; or in such other manner as to His Majesty may seem fit. All which is most humbly submitted."

This Memorial was forwarded by the Duke of Rutland to Lord Sydney, who sent a reply which while sympathetic was probably not especially satisfying to Major-General Pringle; he was allowed to sell his commission as Lieut.-Colonel and permitted to retain his army rank, but was discouraged from hoping for further employment. He was succeeded as Lieut.-Colonel of the 51st by Major John Jaques.

In this year one man was "drummed out" and one discharged—"has an incurable dropsy"; while in the monthly return for February, 1787, we read that "one man discharged was houghed when on Furlow!" During the month of May, 1787, the 51st proceeded to Wexford, but on the 12th of June, the Regiment was inspected by General the Earl of Carhampton at Waterford, having probably been called in to that place for the purpose, it being often the custom in those days to "call together" two or more regiments for convenience of inspection. The Inspecting General remarked: "When I reviewed this Regiment four years ago I could not in justice make a favourable report of it. Lieut.-Colonel Jaques has paid unremitting attention to it ever since, and it is now become one of the best Regiments on this Establishment."

In April of this year the Chaplain, Saurin, was away on leave and then appears to have been succeeded by the Rev. Charles Symmons, who was also absent and for whom the Rev. Mr. Elger acted during the greater part of the rest of the year.

In March, Captain J. Pringle was away "on regimental duty in Dublin;" in April, Lieut. Ogilvie was on command at Duncannon; while in October, Captain Butler, Lieut. Chisholme and Ensign Shawe were on command at "Corke."

The Returns for September show:—"one of the men discharged promoted for Ensign"; while in regard to November we learn that "forty-three of the men fit for duty are draughts!"

In January of this year the Establishment fixed in 1783 had again been altered, and from the 25th December, 1787, it was to be as under, *viz.*, ten companies with one Colonel, one Lieut.-Colonel, one Major, seven Captains, twelve Lieutenants including the Captain-Lieutenant, eight Ensigns, one Chaplain, one Adjutant, one Quartermaster, one Surgeon, one Mate, twenty Sergeants, thirty Corporals, ten Drummers and 370 Privates. "Two Sergeants exclusive of those above specified for whom an extra allowance of 6d. per day is to be provided." Total 467.

At this date the total annual pay bill of the Regiment (all ranks) amounted to £11,174 3s.

Some time in April, 1788, the 51st marched to fresh quarters by way of Waterford to Ross Castle which was reached in June. At Waterford the Regiment was inspected, after a fashion, 1788 by General Bruce who merely remarks:—"This Regiment from its dispersed situation was not inspected this year." The Monthly Return dated June 1st, is signed by Lieut. Colonel Jaques "on the march."

The chaplaincy of the Regiment continued to be held for brief periods of time by several different men—the Rev. Mr. Finch being now apparently the real incumbent, but one Herbert and later one Sandyford acting for him.

In June, 1789, the Regiment had changed quarters to Cork and in the return for this month the name of John Moore re-appears, he having been re-appointed to the 51st as Major as 1789 from the 1st October, 1788, but with the remark "not joined" after his name.

The returns now tell us something about the *men* of the Regiment: thus we read in February of "Two men discharged, one for an incurable palsy, one in goal (*sic.*) at Tralee;" in March we learn that one man was "discharged for fits;" in October, "Three men discharged are embarked to serve in the 60th Regiment and one man prisoner at Charles Fort;" while in November there is the startling statement that "The man discharged was Black"—whether in allusion to his name or his complexion is not stated!

In December, 1788, three men of the Regiment had been tried for desertion and sentenced "to serve, as soldiers for life in America, the West Indies, on any of His Majesty's dominions beyond the Seas." The sequel appears in a Return dated 13th October, 1789, forwarding Lieut.-Colonel Cradock's contingent account on the embarkation of the detachments, recruits and deserters on board the *Commerce*, Captain Foot, for the West Indies at Cork: "to paid Sergeant Cochran of the 51st Regiment for the hire of two cars that conveyed sick deserters from Cork to Cove, 7s. 4d.; to paid per order of Colonel Jaques Provost Martial's Account for straw, etc., £1 7s. 11½d.: to Sergeant Cochran of the 51st Regiment for his trouble as Acting Deputy Provost at Cork, £2 5s. 6d."

In November of this year, Lieut. Alcock and Ensign Anderson were on command at Berehaven, and on the 18th December, on the application of Francis Peterson, Esq., Judge Advocate General, Lieutenant Richard Stewart, 51st, was "approved to act as Deputy Advocate General and Judge Martial with the garrison of Kinsale" with a remuneration of five shillings per diem.

Early in 1790—in January as far as can be ascertained—the Regiment moved to Kinsale, but the stay here was a very brief one 1790 since in May another move was made, this time to Charles Fort in Cork Harbour.

In the "Life of Sir John Moore," (Vol. I, p. 37 *et seq.*) his biographer tells us that when in 1788, Moore re-joined the 51st as a major "the regiment was a very indifferent one, but every attempt or suggestion he threw out for its improvement was thwarted or disapproved of by the Lieutenant Colonel." We are not told anything in support of these statements, and the remark as to the bad state of the Regiment is hardly borne out by the opinion expressed by the Inspecting General on his review of the 51st in June, 1787. Further it does not appear that Moore spent very much time with the corps during the period that he was its second-in-command, as may be seen by the following: he was appointed Major on the 1st October, 1788, but the Returns for June of the year following show him as "not joined;" the Returns for July show him as on "Lord Lieutenant's leave" from the 1st July, 1789, to the 1st January, 1790, and if he then joined his regiment it can only have been for a very few weeks since he again obtained leave from the Lord Lieutenant from the 3rd February to the 3rd August, this being subsequently extended to the 25th October. At the expiration of this leave he was only some three weeks with the 51st before he proceeded on leave again on the 14th November, permission to absent himself until the 31st December, 1790, having been granted him by his Commanding Officer.

It seems then that during the whole of the time that Moore was Major of the 51st—from October, 1788 to November, 1790, twenty-six months—he was not present with it more than fifty-four days all told, in two periods, the one of thirty-four, the other of twenty days.

In November, 1790, he obtained the Command under the following circumstances: the settlement at Nootka Sound, Vancouver, had been established by British merchants in 1786, but in 1789 the Spaniards captured two English vessels and seized the settlement. The British Ministry demanded reparation and prepared for hostilities, and there seemed some reason to believe that the 51st Regiment might be required to form part of an expedition projected against South America. The prospect did not appeal to Lieut.-Colonel Jaques and under date of "the 30th November, 1790, Dublin Castle," we read that "Lieut.-Colonel John Jaques prays leave to dispose of his commission at the regulated price. Major John Moore to be Lieut.-Colonel. Major Richard Henry Buckeridge from the Corps of Invalids to be Major. Captain Pierce Hely from half-pay to be Captain, *vice* Captain John Pringle who exchanges and retires on half-pay."

In this year, from 16th July, an augmentation of establishment of ten Sergeants, ten Drummers and thirty Privates was made.

At various times in 1790 Captain Robert Pringle and Captain Ogilvie were on command at Cork.

There is not very much of general regimental interest during the early part of 1791; in January, Major Buckeridge was 1791 appointed to do duty as A.D.C. to the Lord Lieutenant, and during the year the chaplaincy was held by no fewer than three different clergymen—Finch, Fortescue and Poole.

The 51st was reviewed at Cork on the 3rd July, 1791, by Major General Richard Whyte, who remarked that "This Regiment is a good body of men, their last Recruits excepted, well disciplined, move and take up their ground very exactly, and are fit for immediate service."

Then on the 4th November, Lord Grenville wrote from Whitehall to the Lord Lieutenant intimating that "the 2nd, 25th, 59th and 61st Regiments at Gibraltar are to be relieved early in the ensuing year by the 46th, 51st and 61st, the last three therefore to be held in readiness and on the arrival of the vessels appointed to receive them, which will be on or before the 10th February next, they do embark at Cork and proceed to Gibraltar. . . . For each regiment consisting of 469 men (officers included) together with twelve servants and sixty women, sixty tons will be allowed for the regimental baggage." It was further announced that the three relieving regiments were to continue on the Establishment of Ireland and were to be considered from the time of embarking as a part of the numbers lent by that government for foreign service. Each corps was to leave behind eight men, including officers, to be employed on recruiting.

In December, Major Fitch was appointed A.D.C. to the Lord Lieutenant, and Quartermaster Jonathan Flude, Town Major of Berwick.

On the 17th February, 1792, Lieut.-Colonel Moore wrote to his father saying¹ "I have been obliged to punish soldiers twice since I joined very severely for drunkenness upon duty. It is a crime I have often declared I never would pardon. 1792

About a week ago a Lieutenant of the Regiment was guilty of it; he went rioting about the town and was absent from his guard all night. . . . When it was reported to me I had still fresh upon my mind the disagreeable recollection of a flogging which had been inflicted upon a corporal, for something very similar, two days before. I assembled the officers, related what I had heard, and sent the Adjutant with a message to the Lieutenant . . . immediately to dispose of his Lieutenancy

¹ "Life of Sir John Moore." Vol. 2, p. 286-7.

to the Ensign first for purchase ; for, if he hesitated, I should put him in arrest, and report him to the Commander-in-Chief. He knew, if I did so, he must be broke and therefore chose to take the money. He was a blackguard as you may suppose, and we are well quit of him ; this example will, I trust, prevent everything of the kind in future. I do think that after the recent and severe examples made among the men for the same crime sentenced by court martial, consisting of the officers of the regiment, any one of themselves who could be guilty of it must be totally devoid of every feeling and sentiment of a gentleman. I said so to the officers, and had the satisfaction to find they all agreed with me."

In this letter Moore mentions that some of the transports had arrived, but not all, and that he did not expect to embark before the end of the month ; and writing a few days later he seems to have entertained the hope that the 51st might be detained to proceed on a more active service, consequent on the situation in France where King Louis had just been guillotined.

However, this hope was crushed, for on the 6th March, 1792, the 51st embarked at Monkstown for Gibraltar in two transports : in the *Brunswick* were the Lieut.-Colonel, two Captains, five Lieutenants, two Ensigns, the Adjutant, the Surgeon, twelve Sergeants, seventeen Corporals, six Drummers and Fifers, 206 Privates, thirty-six women and seventy children ; while the *Friendship* carried two Captains, three Lieutenants, three Ensigns, seven Sergeants, twelve Corporals, six Drummers and Fifers, 125 Privates, twenty-four women and fifty-seven children, making a total of twenty officers, nineteen Sergeants, twenty-nine Corporals, twelve Drummers, 331 Privates, sixty women and 127 children.

In forwarding the muster rolls the Lord Lieutenant remarked that all three regiments were under their establishment, the 51st being thirty-two men short.

The following officers did not embark, *viz.*, Major Fitch, Captains Elford, R. Pringle, Hutchinson, Tourle ; Lieutenants Chisholme, Potts, Smith ; Ensigns Jaques, Hatton, Serjeantson, Chaplain Poole ; Quartermaster Flude and Surgeon's Mate George Douglas. Lieutenant Chisholme appears to have been on leave : he is shown in the return as "detained by contrary winds"—an excuse which, considering that his leave expired on the 14th January, seems rather feeble !

Other ranks which did not embark with the Regiment were :—Left in Ireland by order, two Sergeants, one Corporal, four Privates. Recruiting at Sheffield, one Sergeant, two Privates. Deserter apprehended and *en route* to join, one Private. Non-Effective, thirty-two Privates.

On receipt in the previous December of the notice to prepare for embarkation for foreign service, it was reported that the arms had been in use since 1782, and were worn out and unfit for "actual service"; their replacement was therefore requested. Later, 400 stand of new arms were received from the Arsinall (*sic.*) in Cork, but as no Fusils were sent at the same time these were asked for to arm the eight Sergeants of the flank companies. The reply to this request was:—"Cannot be allowed as this article of accoutrement is to be made good by the Colonel."

This record of the service of the 51st in Ireland may close with mention of a memorial submitted on the 12th July, 1792, by one William Gun, Deputy Provost Marshal at Cork, stating that he had a service of thirty-one years' in the Army, fifteen of which he was pay sergeant of the Grenadier Company of the 51st Regiment; that the Depot for Deserters at Cork having been given up he is left with a wife and seven children totally destitute; he therefore prays that the Lord Lieutenant will take his case into consideration and grant him such provision as may be thought proper.

One is glad to read the minute on this memorial from William Gun—probably an old Seven Years' War man—"Warrants will be made out as usual for Sergeant Gun until he is otherwise provided for."

Within a few days of Moore writing his last quoted letter, the 51st had embarked, and on the 8th March, Lieut.-Colonel Moore wrote again to his father from the *Brunswick* transport, Cove of Cork, as follows¹: ". . . I have been hurried to death with the embarkation, the new sergeant-major I had been obliged to appoint not being conversant with the business. But I have been much pleased with the behaviour of the Regiment. Their orderly conduct upon leaving a town like Cork, in which they had formed many acquaintances, was more than I could have expected. Upon the parade the evening before we marched I told them they might enjoy themselves, and be jolly with their friends till nine, when I expected every man to be in his quarters; and that at seven next morning they should come sober to the parade ready to march. They were glorious that night; however, with a very few exceptions, they retired to their quarters at nine, and came next morning (to the parade) perfectly sober. We lost one man only by desertion since we received orders to embark, and we recovered him yesterday. . . . At daylight to-morrow, if the wind continues fair, we sail. . . ."

There is in the Public Record Office a letter from Sir Robert Boyd, the Governor of Gibraltar, dated the 16th April, 1792, in which he says:—"In a postscript of a letter I wrote on the 19th ult. to Mr. Dundas, I mentioned that there were six large ships standing

¹ "*Life of Lieut.-General Sir John Moore*," Vol. 1, p. 43-4. W.O. 1/287.

into the bay which we supposed to be the Transports from Cork. They proved to be so, and by the activity of Lieutenant Harrison, the superintendent, the 46th, 51st and 61st were landed, and the Queen's, the 25th and 59th were embarked and sailed for England where we think they may be arrived. I have great reason to be pleased with the appearance of our new comers who, as you will see by our last Monthly Return want ninety-two to compleat, and have lost six men since their arrival. . . ."

Before this, however, Colonel Moore had again written home—on the 26th March¹—announcing that "after a most delightful passage we anchored in this Bay the eleventh day from our leaving Cork. We only landed yesterday. . . . I have been up at daylight ever since we anchored and seldom off my legs till bedtime. . . . Sir Robert Boyd (the Lieutenant-Governor) acknowledged me as an old acquaintance and has been extremely civil."

At this time—on the 23rd March of this year—a long paper was compiled, and quoted as about to be printed and sent to all regiments of Foot, dealing with questions of Drill. It is much too long to be quoted in full, but some extracts seem worth reproducing at this period when there is not much to record about the service of the 51st at Gibraltar.

In this paper it is laid down that the pace of an "ordinary march" was to be 30 inches, seventy-five such paces being taken in the minute and 108 of the same length for a quick march, for the "filing of Divisions from Line into Column and from Column into Line." The "Wheeling March" was to be 120 paces per minute and the length of pace of the outer file was fixed at 33 inches. It was strictly enjoined that the soldier was "to be habituated to these steps without Drums or Music." Every movement was to be performed by word of command from the Commanding Officer, and neither Music or Drums were ever to be used to instruct or regulate the cadence or step of any body of men great or small.

The paper then goes on to fix the positions of officers and sergeants. An officer covered by a sergeant was to be on the right of the front rank of each company or platoon and one officer on the left of the Battalion. The two Colours were to be posted in the front rank between the 4th and 5th Battalion Companies—each Colour to be covered in the rear rank by a non-commissioned officer or "a steady man." A file of sergeants to be posted between the Colours, one in the front rank and one in the rear, and one in a fourth or supernumerary rank. These sergeants were to move out six paces to the front when the Battalion was to march in line, to form there in rank entire, and were to conduct the Battalion under the direction

¹ "Life." Vol. 1, p. 46.

of the Commanding Officer in the rear. The place of the sergeant between the Colours was to be filled by an officer who was to move up for that purpose from the rear, while all the other officers and sergeants of companies were to form a fourth rank at three paces distance from the rear rank of the Battalion. In the instructions for the reception of an Inspecting Officer it was laid down that the Colonel or Field Officer was then to be on foot, on all other occasions mounted.

During a march-past the Colonel was to head the Grenadier Company, the Major a little behind him on the left, the Lieut.-Colonel in the rear ; in the absence of the Colonel the place he should occupy to be taken by the Lieut.-Colonel. Officers of grenadiers, light infantry and fusiliers were in future to use swords and not fusils. Sergeants of grenadiers and fusiliers to carry pikes, those of light infantry fusils.

Under date of "Gibraltar, 7th May, 1792," there is "a Return of Promotions and Exchanges which have taken place since the under-mentioned Regiments were ordered for Foreign Service, of which no official information has been received."

51st Foot—

Rank and Name.	Promoted to	In place of
Mr. J. C. Atherley..	Ensign ..	Serjeantson, resigned.
Mr. Jas. Fleming ..	Ensign ..	Hall, resigned.
Ensign R. Blackall ..	Lieutenant ..	Potts, retired.
Mr. J. Torre ..	Ensign ..	Blackall, promoted.

On the 10th December of this year, in view of a proposed augmentation of ten men per company, an order was published that on Foreign Stations the standard of height for recruits was to be reduced to 5 ft. 6 in. per man under thirty years of age, the height for growing lads being fixed at 5 ft. 5 in.

On the 24th October, 1793, there was issued a "List of Officers belonging to the Garrison at Gibraltar" who were absent, 1793 and it contains the names of the following officers of the 51st Regiment, *viz.* :

Major Pringle ..	Gone to Portsmouth.
Capt. Hutchinson ..	Recruiting at Beverley.
Lieut. Chisholm ..	" at Sheffield.
Ensign Jaques ..	To be appointed to an Independent Company.
Ensign Tweddall ..	Gone to Portsmouth.

The absence of Captain Hutchinson may thus be explained. The authorities had decided upon an augmentation of 450 men to each Regiment of Foot, but it was realized that there would be great difficulty in finding the men. An order, dated the 1st November,

was issued by the Adjutant-General, offering two additional majorities to each regiment in which selected captains could recruit the required number of men within three months. The scheme was quite unsuccessful, not one single regiment having raised the requisite number, and the offer of promotion was withdrawn in such regiments "as seem to have been deficient in exertion unless they can prove it was unavoidable and state why."

Captain Hutchinson of the 51st was considered to have acquired merit, and seems indeed to have been more successful than the officers similarly deputed from other regiments, and the authorities extended his time-limit to five months, when he managed to raise his quota.

There is a letter extant from the A. G. to Captain Hutchinson, it is dated the 9th July, 1794, and reads :—"Having laid your letter of the 5th inst. before Lord Amherst, I am directed by his Lordship to acquaint you that it being an invariable rule for all recruits raised in the manner yours have been to be inspected at Chatham, you are therefore to march them to the Barracks at that place, there to undergo the Inspection of the Commandant, Colonel Sir H. Dalrymple. His Lordship has consented to their being afterwards turned over to the 51st Regiment, of which I shall take care to inform Lord Eglintoune."

The A. G. accordingly wrote on the next day to the Colonel of the 51st :—

"My Dear Lord,

"Captain Hutchinson of your Lordship's Regiment having reported to me his having completed the Levy of men which he had undertaken for the rank of Major, and not having forgot your Lordship's application to have these men incorporated into the 51st Regiment under your command, I accordingly mentioned the circumstance to Lord Amherst and have the pleasure to inform you that his Lordship has assented thereto, as soon as they have arrived at Chatham Barracks, and have undergone the Inspection of the Commandant there."

Captain Hutchinson, in reward of his labours, was finally gazetted to a majority on the 25th September, 1794.

In November, 1793, the strength of the 51st, at Gibraltar, was increased by the arrival of a draft of 200 men under Ensign Rice. This reinforcement, which reached Gibraltar in the *Neptune* Transport, had actually been embarked at Spithead in the previous May, waiting for a favourable wind and waiting also for the convoy without which, in consequence of the war with revolutionary France, transports were not permitted to leave the home ports, and which our men-of-war were too much occupied to be able readily to afford.

The need for men, occasioned by the war with France, had caused the standard of height to be again reduced, and on the 12th December, 1793, orders were issued directing that in Line Regiments it should be 5 ft. 5 in. for men not under eighteen years of age nor above thirty-five, while growing well-made lads between sixteen and eighteen were permitted to be enlisted, though their height was not above 5 ft. 4 in.

The situation at this time in the Mediterranean was as follows :—The Royalist party in France was in possession of Toulon and had appealed to England, Spain and Austria to help them save the port, the arsenal, dockyards and fleet from falling into the hands of the Jacobins. England had sent thither her fleet under Admiral Lord Hood, and some troops from Gibraltar ; Spain also had sent some ships of war ; while Austria promised help which did not materialize. Admiral Hood took possession of the forts at Toulon and of the French ships in the harbour, and soon found that, with a very mixed force of some 14,000 men, including 2,000 British soldiers under General O'Hara, he was besieged by 25,000 Republicans determined to retake the place and drive the defenders into the sea.

During this year Colonel Moore's letters show how keenly he was following the course of events, and how much he dreaded lest he and the 51st might find themselves relegated to mere garrison duty during the war which he recognized was at hand. Writing home on the 30th September, he says : " To go with the Regiment upon service is the object next my heart. I have got the machine into as good order as I can, and I wish to have it used. When the intelligence of the business at Toulon first reached this, General O'Hara endeavoured to persuade the Governor to send a strong detachment under him to Toulon and he proposed the 51st as one of the Regiments ; but the old gentleman was timid and said he would not take such a step without orders." Again on the 31st October, Moore wrote : " I shall write to you the moment I receive any orders, I expect them daily. The Regiment is ready. It is vastly improved since it landed here. The men both stouter and healthier. The exceptionable people among the officers are gone and a particularly fine set of young fellows remain."

The stirring events of the next few weeks may be told in Moore's own words.¹

" Gibraltar, 1793. On Sunday, the 5th December, the 50th and 51st Regiments embarked on board four line-of-battle ships for Toulon. From some misunderstanding, though the regiments were under arms at seven in the morning, the boats were with difficulty procured by twelve, and as it blew pretty fresh from the north-west,

¹ " *Diary of Sir John Moore.*" Vol. 1, p. 37 et seq.

it was dark before some of the boats reached the ships. Monday was employed in getting the camp equipage and baggage embarked. The wind was fair both Tuesday and Wednesday. It is therefore difficult to say why we did not sail, especially as it is known that we are much wanted at Toulon. Thursday morning we unmoored.

“”

“ H.M.S. *Egmont*. 20th December, 1793. The wind blew fresh from the north-west all night and continues to do so. We are already off Cape de Gatta. The four line-of-battle ships, *vis.*, the *Egmont*, *Colossus*, *Fortitude* and *Ardent*, sailed well ; but *La Moselle*, a French sloop, can not carry sail when it blows so hard, and she retards us.”

“ 21st December. About six o'clock this morning the wind changed to the south-east, and since breakfast it has rained.”

“ 29th December, 1793. The weather has been uncommonly bad and the wind contrary and though from the appearance of the first two days we had the prospect of a short passage it was not till the 28th we made the land.”

“ HIÈRES BAY. (Wednesday) 1st January, 1794. It was almost dark before we came to anchor here yesterday. I went on board the *Victory* with Captain Dixon, and was introduced 1794 by him to Lord Hood. He received the state of the Regiment, which I presented to him with my orders from Sir Robert Boyd, which were to put myself under his Lordship's command, expressed some surprise at the smallness of our numbers, said we were rather late, and then turned to one of the navy officers with whom he had been transacting business. I then retired into the outer cabin to General (Sir David) Dundas.”

“ H.M.S. *Loweſtoffe*, HIÈRES BAY, 12th January, 1794. We have remained here because of the bad weather. We are in daily expectation of going elsewhere, report says to Porto Fararo in the Island of Elba. Three days ago I received a note from Lord Hood. He wished to see me. General (Sir David) Dundas told me, when I got to the *Victory*, the intention was to send me with Major Koehler¹ Deputy Quartermaster-General, to Corsica to report from observation upon the spot how far an attack upon that island with our small military force was practicable. Lord Hood explained to Major Koehler and me, from a drawing of the Gulf of Fiorenzo, the situation of the place, his views, etc. Sir Gilbert Elliott goes also to have an explanation with Paoli. We all embarked in this frigate last night, the wind having been contrary for two days. We are now under way.”

¹ *Capt. -Lieut. and Brevet-Major G. F. Koehler, Royal Artillery.*

The island of Corsica had been in possession of the French since 1768, in which year they had purchased it from Genoa. The islanders, under Paoli, had unsuccessfully fought against France for their independence, and at this time Paoli, who had sought a refuge in England, had returned to Corsica, hoping with British assistance again to raise the standard of insurrection. The chief strong places held by the French were San Fiorenzo on the north, Bastia on the east and Calvi in the west.

In the meantime the 51st had lost all their baggage and stores, the disaster—for it was little less than disaster to a regiment proceeding on field service—is thus chronicled by Ensign Rice in a letter home¹: “The officers’ and the regimental baggage went into Toulon in the *Moselle* frigate (*La Moselle*, previously a French sloop), which separated from the transports during the night and did not know that the town was evacuated because the English flag was kept flying.” She was consequently taken by the enemy.

Accompanied by Sir Gilbert Elliot, H.M.’s Commissioner in the Mediterranean, and by Major Koehler, Colonel Moore landed on the 14th January, 1794, in Corsica, interviewed General Paoli, and reconnoitred San Fiorenzo—in the course of this last operation having a slight skirmish with the enemy.

On the 26th January, Moore was back with the fleet and was able to make his report to Admiral Lord Hood and to General Dundas, who had succeeded to the command of the troops *vice* O’Hara, wounded at Toulon.

Moore advised that an attempt to drive the French from Corsica—an operation considered of the first importance as providing another base in the Mediterranean besides Gibraltar, and one, moreover, nearer to the great ports of Toulon and Genoa—should commence by obtaining possession of Martello Bay; this to be followed by seizing the villages of Patrimonio and Barbagio, thus severing communications between San Fiorenzo and Bastia, and securing facilities for the landing and transport of stores for the cannonade of San Fiorenzo. Moore had been able to reconnoitre Bastia from a distance of three or four miles only, but he did not anticipate that an attack thereon would present any insuperable difficulties. On the other hand, Calvi, being to all appearance a place of much greater strength than either San Fiorenzo or Bastia, might require a more serious attack. Colonel Moore added to his report some valuable notes on the country, the nature and degree of the military assistance to be expected from the inhabitants, on transport, supplies and communications.

The 51st Regiment had now been many days in its transports; it

¹ “*The Life of a Regimental Officer during the Great War*,” p. 33.

had sailed on the 5th December from Gibraltar for Toulon, thence on the 31st it had gone to the Bay of Hyères, remaining there until the 24th February, 1794, when it sailed again for Porto Ferrajo, in Elba, arriving on the 27th or 28th. It left Elba again on the 5th February to take part in the operations against the French in Corsica, and, to quote again from the diary of the Colonel of the Regiment :—
 “It was put in orders before we sailed that the first landing was to be made by the Royals, 25th and 51st Regiments under my command.”

Colonel Moore may best himself relate the events that now followed.¹

“CAMP OF ST. BERNARD, CORSICA. 1st March, 1794. Ever since I landed in this island I have been so much occupied that this is the first moment I have had to continue my journal. I shall endeavour to recall the different events since I landed. On the forenoon of the seventh (February), the fleet anchored in a small bay at the back of Martello Point. When I went to the *Alcide* I found the General undetermined whether to disembark that day or not. The troops had been dressed and ready since daylight. I therefore pressed him to allow me to land that I might be able to start early next morning. He consented. The Royals, consisting of 200, and 51st, 350, with a six-pounder, 5½ inch howitzer, thirty Artillery, and 120 seamen from the men-of-war under Captain Cooke, were ordered to land immediately with their blankets, and three days' provisions, drest. It was almost dark before everybody and everything were on shore. We lay upon our arms at a small distance from the coast that night. Major Koehler, Deputy Quartermaster-General, who had continued till now with General Paoli at Morato, accompanied me and undertook to assist in forwarding the artillery. My orders were to march to the Bocca Fattojagi, and from heights in that neighbourhood which overlook the enemy's works, fire upon them with the six-pounder and howitzer and then attack them with the infantry. This was in accordance with what I had myself proposed to the General, and from the state of their works when I saw them three weeks before, I had reason to hope for success. We marched at daylight in the morning, but the road soon became so very difficult that the two pieces of artillery could not keep up with the troops. Indeed I even doubted if it would be possible to bring them forward at all. I halted for them at the top of the hill, and, after waiting some time, received a message by Captain Nepean of the Engineers, that Captain Cooke required thirty soldiers to assist the seamen in getting the guns forward. Having directed the Royals to furnish this party and the commanding officer to wait with the rest of the Royals and guard the guns, I pushed forward with the 51st, wishing

¹ “Diary.” Vol. 1, p. 53 et seq.

to get to the intended ground in time to reconnoitre the enemy's posts.

"I reached a small plain at the foot of the hills which form the Bocca about twelve at noon. I ordered the Regiment to pile their arms and refresh themselves. Major Pringle and Captain Stewart ascended the hill with me and we reached a point within 1,400 yards of the enemy's works. I was much mortified to find how well they had employed their time since I had viewed them with Major Koehler. Every part was strengthened and some new works erected. The attack on them was no longer an affair of two days, 500 men and two light guns. The advanced redoubt of Martello was greatly enlarged and they still appeared busy in closing it. The tower of Fornoli had embrasures in every direction. A closed battery was thrown up in front of it and in the low battery, called the Fort of Fornoli, a mortar and several new guns were mounted. As Major Koehler had been employed with me in the mission to Corsica and had agreed in all the particulars of the report I made, I wished for his opinion again before I wrote to General (Sir David) Dundas. I immediately sent to him to leave the guns to Captain Cooke and the officer of Artillery, and to come to me by daylight in the morning. The Regiment was ordered to prepare to pass the night upon their arms, the officers to sleep with their companies, etc. Before dark I received messages that the guns were not very far from camp. The six-pounder was brought in that night, the howitzer escorted by the Royals next morning early; nothing could exceed the zeal of Captain Cooke or the exertions of the seamen. Both were necessary to accomplish such a service. Major Koehler set out on receiving my note and arrived about two in the morning. I imparted to him everything I had observed and we agreed to take a view of the works in the morning with Captain Nepean.

"The Regiment stood to their arms an hour before daylight. As soon as they were dismissed Koehler, Nepean and I set out and after examining the works for several hours returned to camp. They agreed with me that the force I had was not equal to the undertaking. I then wrote to General Dundas reporting the state in which I had found the enemy's works. I said that the attack on the works of Martello Bay, which had been entrusted to me as a previous step to that of St. Fiorenzo, had now, from the time that had been given to the enemy to fortify themselves, become an operation which would employ the whole of his force, but that, when those works were carried, the business would probably become easy. I described to the General the situation of the enemy, but begged that he would come himself and judge upon the spot. I said that in the meantime I had taken measures to ensure fresh provisions for the troops and

that with the assistance I had from the Corsicans I conceived myself to be secure in the post I had chosen. . . . In the course of the forenoon on which the (Martello) tower surrendered, General Dundas came to the camp. . . . He left me with orders to remain with the 51st in my present situation and to get forward the camp equipage, but as the Royals and the 69th Regiment had also joined us, he directed me to send them back to the shore because they had no tents and must of course suffer in case of bad weather. This was done during the two following days. The weather was so fine that, though both men and officers were for eight or ten days without any covering whatever, there was hardly a sick man in the Regiment. At night, each company made a large fire in a place allotted to it, round which we all lay in our cloaks or blankets."

"Major Koehler accompanied the General back on his return. He discovered a spot for a battery within 600 or 700 yards of the redoubt of Martello. I went to it next day and wrote to the General that I was convinced that if a couple of 18-pounders were mounted on it no person could live in the redoubt. It was resolved to make the trial and by the force of tackle, joined to the exertions of the sailors from the men-of-war, two 18-pounders and one 8-inch howitzer were dragged up a steep rock and mounted in the course of two days. At another place of easier access a 10-inch mortar and one or two other guns were also mounted. The moment it was determined to establish batteries in this quarter the Corsicans were ordered to occupy the heights. The night the guns were landed the French sallied out and attempted to dislodge them but were repulsed by the Corsicans. The enemy's redoubt, called "the Convention," was cannonaded by our batteries the greatest part of two days and several of their guns were dismounted.

"I still remained at the camp I had first chosen, called Monte Rivinco, but I had been frequently at the batteries which plunged completely into the redoubt. General Dundas told me that he intended to have it stormed as soon as it was sufficiently battered, and that I should have the execution of the attack and he explained to me the mode in which he wished it to be done.

"On the forenoon of the 17th February, 1794, the second day of our fire, I had taken the Regiment (51st) out to exercise in order to accustom them to move through the brushwood without too much disorder, when, in the field, I received a letter from the General to say that he meant to attack the enemy's work that night at nine. He therefore desired me to leave my camp at four p.m. and halt in the neighbourhood of the Royals' encampment in the rear of our batteries. I of course immediately returned with the Regiment to camp, and, having given the necessary orders and set the Regiment

in movement at the time ordered, I went myself by a shorter road to headquarters. The General, from one of the batteries, again explained to me the ground. With the Royals and the 51st I was to move from our principal battery and to attack the redoubt in front. The 50th and 25th were to move from the other battery, and, keeping along the sea for some time, turn to the right and attack the redoubt in flank near the flagstaff. A body of Corsicans were to attack the other side, or rather remain upon the other side between the redoubt and the tower of Fornoli, and, if we succeeded, were to cut off the retreat of the enemy.

"Upon leaving the General I found the Regiment under Major Pringle at the place directed. Major Koehler walked with me and from a drawing he had taken gave me a perfect idea of the work I was to attack. The interval was employed in explaining to the officers the nature of the attack, making the dispositions and warning the men not to fire but to trust to their bayonets. The attack was to be made in column of companies. The Grenadiers and Light Company of the Royals, being weak, formed one, and the leading division; the 51st Grenadiers the second, the 51st Light Company the third, then the battalion of Royals in five divisions, then three companies of the 51st. I ordered the remaining five companies of the 51st, under Major Pringle, to move at an interval of fifty yards in the rear of the others, to form behind the different traverses as they got in, and to be ready to support or cover the retreat of those who made the rush as occasion might require. One hundred and thirty sailors, under Captain Cooke, followed in rear of the whole with intrenching tools.

"I put myself at the head of the Grenadiers and Light Infantry of the Royals and began to file from our battery at half-past eight. The ground did not admit of any but a file movement. The greatest silence was preserved and the moon shone very bright. After marching about 500 yards through a very thick brushwood we came to a place which I thought suitable for forming the divisions. Whilst this was being done I advanced a few paces to view the ground over which I had still to pass. Three or four shots were fired at me by an advanced piquet, I immediately returned to the column and gave them the order to advance. This we did pretty quickly down hill to the foot of that upon which the redoubt was placed. Upon the brow of this and within fifty yards of the redoubt, perceiving that we were covered from the fire, I halted to give the men breath and get the divisions into order. They were a little broken from the quickness of the last movement and from the roughness of the ground.

"We then advanced briskly up the hill and jumped into the head of the work. I called to the men next me to follow me. Trusting

to those who came after us to put to death such as defended that part of the work, I ran on to a traverse, where I knew there was a gun, with a view to prevent it being fired. We carried the traverse instantly. We found the gun elevated to fire on our battery. We instantly made for a second traverse where there was another gun. This traverse was very high with two embrasures and a narrow passage upon the right of it. I jumped upon the embrasure. One of the Frenchmen had the match in his hand lighted, but from some unaccountable accident he did not then fire the gun. Some of our men followed me. Others attempted the passage upon our left. The enemy fired upon us and charged their bayonets. Here, for the first time, our men began to fire; but the enemy showed so much firmness that we were fairly checked, and the bayonets of both crossing, our people without attempting to turn stepped back.

“We were endeavouring to encourage the men and get them to make a rush through the passage. I make no doubt they would have done it, but at that moment I heard some men in the rear cry out that there was another passage on the right. I immediately made for that and got in. Many of the French stood and fought till they were bayoneted. Others threw down their arms and obtained quarter. We then made for the flagstaff where many shots were fired. The 50th and 25th, who had been impeded by the difficulty of the ground they had to move over, at this instant reached the redoubt and came into it. From the number of soldiers, sailors and Corsicans who now came in the confusion was great. I was much afraid of the consequence of a counter-attack had one been attempted. I knew we were within grapeshot range of the tower and redoubt of Fornoli. It was necessary, therefore, to take steps for covering ourselves. The noise and crowd were such that it was difficult to know where to begin and though an engineer had been ordered to attend none was forthcoming. Luckily Major Koehler came in and about the same time the guns of Fornoli began to fire grape. Koehler was extremely active and gave orders for the work it was necessary to commence. The grape helped to stop the confusion. Plenty of intrenching tools and sandbags were found in the redoubt and the men worked so hard that we were soon in a great measure covered from the fire of Fornoli and should certainly have been completely so before morning; but about twelve or one o'clock I was informed that the works of Fornoli were abandoned. I detached Major Pringle with our Grenadiers and Light Infantry Companies to take possession of them, and sent the different corps back to their camps except the 50th and 25th Regiments which I kept for the guard of the redoubt.

" Our loss in killed and wounded¹ was between thirty and forty, a great number of them bayonet wounds ; the enemy, including prisoners, lost above one hundred. I happened to be so situated at one time as to be obliged to make use of my sword. The first thrust I made it bent, but luckily a second, which was instantaneous, went through the man's body. Those who defended the redoubt were soldiers of the line in white. Our people gave quarter as often as asked but the Corsicans, who failed in cutting off the retreat of the fugitives who numbered between 400 and 500, were active in killing and pillaging the wounded of both parties. General Dundas came to the redoubt about five o'clock next morning. I went with him to Fornoli and from thence to camp. He thanked me in very handsome terms, and in the course of the day gave out an order extremely flattering to the troops employed in the assault.

" Next day, the 19th, Captain Hislop, Deputy Adjutant-General, was sent to summon St. Fiorenzo. General Dundas directed Major Koehler and me to reconnoitre the enemy's position at St. Bernard and the ground near the gorge through which the road passes from St. Fiorenzo to Bastia, with a view to my taking up a position with 500 men and the light gun and howitzer to cover the disembarkation of the troops in that quarter for the attack on St. Fiorenzo. Koehler and I accordingly walked to Oletta, a small village at which I had been when on the island the first time. Here we met General Paoli. Before supper a report, of which we had heard something before we left camp, was confirmed, *viz.*, that the French had abandoned St. Fiorenzo and had retired to Bastia and that the English were in possession of the town. Our mission having been thus rendered useless we set out next morning with General Paoli for St. Fiorenzo. General Dundas desired me to bring the Regiment forward. I did so next day and he encamped the 50th, 51st, and 69th Regiments under my orders on the St. Fiorenzo side of the gorge. The rest of the troops, or the greatest part of them, were quartered in the town. A considerable quantity of guns, mortars and ammunition were found in St. Fiorenzo and the works of Martello. The enemy remained upon the heights of Titime² for a day or two and blew up part of the road. They were attacked by the Corsicans and retired down the hill to the neighbourhood of Bastia.

¹ In his despatch of the 21st February, describing these operations General Dundas wrote " the loss has fallen chiefly on the brave Grenadiers and Light Infantry of the Royal and 51st Regiments, who were the first that entered the enemy's works." The casualties in the 51st are given as " four Rank and File killed, eight Rank and File wounded." This despatch is given in full in H.O. 50/256 at the Public Record Office.

² Should be Teghime.

"The next day, I believe it was on 22nd February, 1794, I went with General Dundas to reconnoitre Bastia. We approached it near enough to see distinctly with our glasses the situation. It was determined to return early the next morning. Upon his return Dundas ordered Lieut.-Colonel Villettes with the 69th to encamp upon the heights of Titime next day. . . . Though General Paoli had promised to cut the communication between Bastia and St. Fiorenzo whilst we were engaged in the attack on Fornoli and Martello, the Corsicans had never attempted to carry out his undertaking. They had also failed to cut the retreat of the fugitives from the Convention Redoubt on the night of our attack. Bastia was therefore reinforced by the garrison of St. Fiorenzo, which, consisted, notwithstanding the loss of 200 which they say they sustained in our attack, of 500 to 600 veteran troops of the line. These made the force in Bastia amount to 1,200 or 1,300 troops of the line besides the crews of the two frigates and 1,000, or probably more, armed Corsicans, a force superior to ours.

"General Dundas seemed sensible of the difficulty of the undertaking. He ordered me the next day to move the Regiment to Titime and take upon me the command of the two corps. In the meantime the French sallied out of Bastia, attacked and drove the Corsicans from the village of Carda and established themselves upon the ground which we must have possessed to batter the redoubts. Before I reached the heights their advanced Piquets were pushed forward to within a couple of thousand yards of ours. General Dundas was up as soon as the Regiment and pointed out the ground for our encampment. The cold upon the top of the mountain was very great, and the fog so thick as in every sense to make our situation uncomfortable. Our position however was strong and with the vigilance from which I never depart it was impossible to come on us unawares. Captain Alcock had the advanced picquet. He heard them hard at work the whole night. They were intrenching themselves upon ground which we must possess in order to take Bastia. In the morning the Adjutant-General, Sir James Sinclair, brought me orders from the General to retire down the hill, using every precaution that the French might not perceive the movement and harass me. Orders were accordingly given for a march. Tents were struck immediately and to the surprise of everybody the troops moved back. I remained with the four companies for about half-an-hour after the rest to call in the piquets and cover the retreat. We encamped in front of the gorge near which the French camp had formerly been, and we consequently called it by the name of St. Bernardino. The 50th continued in the camp on the other side of the gorge where we had left them. It was put in orders the next

day that the three regiments encamped would receive their orders from me.

"15th May, 1794. The night before last the reinforcement arrived from Gibraltar, consisting of the recruits of the 50th and 51st with the remains of the 18th, in all about 600 men.

"19th May, 1794. . . . This morning between ten and eleven I was informed that the Royal and Royal Irish Regiments were upon their march to Titime and at the same time I received an order to move the 50th and 51st to-morrow at daylight to the encampment marked some days ago by the Quartermaster-General immediately over the French advanced posts (covering Bastia). . . .

"CAMP, TITIME HEIGHTS. 22nd May, 1794. After putting the Regiment in motion yesterday morning I pushed forward myself to the Brigadier. As I was convinced the place (*i.e.* Bastia) was capitulating I wished to save the Regiment a fatiguing march over the mountains and hoped to be allowed to encamp upon or near the ground we formerly occupied; but our Brigadier . . . said we must go to the ground marked out for us. . . . I returned to the Regiment which had reached the place where it is necessary to leave the great road. From thence to our present encampment is about three miles over a very steep and craggy mountain. Numbers of men fell down from the excessive heat, badness of the road, etc. As we reached our ground there came on a thick fog followed by hard rain to which we were exposed for more than three hours before our baggage and camp equipage came up. I never recollect suffering more from cold. The men were shivering. The sudden change from heat to cold, wet clothes, etc., must have sent many to hospital. When the provisions arrived I ordered a glass of raw spirits to each man. The rain ceased and the fog cleared up during the night. By this change in the weather I had an opportunity of posting the piquets to greater advantage. We were thrown more to the left than was intended. Colonel Wauchope had found it necessary to extend his camp more that way in consequence of our not coming up the night before. This morning was particularly fine and I was in hopes that our poor fellows would have made themselves dry and comfortable, but about ten o'clock a thick fog again came on.

"31st May, 1794. We changed our camp in the neighbourhood of Titime, below it and near the great road. The 50th are upon our left, the Royals and 18th near the sea, within a mile of Bastia. . . . The General (*i.e.*, Major-General the Hon. Charles Stuart) looked at the different regiments two days ago. He paid the 51st many compliments. . . . Last night the Royals, 50th and 51st, with detachments of artillery, etc., were ordered to hold themselves in readiness for immediate embarkation.

" 8th June, 1794. The flank companies of the Royal Irish, 50th and 51st Regiments, together with the remains of the 2nd Battalion of the Royals, are to be formed into a corps which the General was so good as to say was for me.

" 9th June, 1794. The line of battle was put in orders yesterday. The General wishes the flank companies to be encamped together previous to their embarkation. I have pitched upon a spot for them on the other side of Campanelli. We assemble to-morrow morning at seven and march to it. Major Brereton of the 30th is appointed Brigade-Major to the new corps. This evening I took leave of the Regiment and gave up the command of it to Major Pringle.

" CAMPANELLI CAMP. 11th June, 1794. The Corps under my command forms the reserve in the line of battle. We assembled yesterday morning and marched to this camp.

" MARTELLO BAY, on board the *Helmseley*. 16th June, 1794. We embarked in transports the morning of the 13th and sailed the same evening, and yesterday we anchored in this bay. General Trigge, with 700 or 800 recruits from England, had arrived the night before, as also ammunition of different kinds from Gibraltar. These last enable us to proceed and we are now under way with a fair wind. General Trigge goes to command at Bastia. The recruits, who belong to the 30th and 69th Regiments, go with him. . . .

" CAMP ABOVE CALVI. 19th June, 1794. We landed yesterday morning early and encamped upon the heights immediately above the plain of Calvi. The camp is concealed from the enemy's posts. . . .

" 21st June, 1794. It blew so hard yesterday and the day before that little could be landed. . . .

" 4th July, 1794. . . . The reserve is to form the covering party. The success of this night will determine that of our attack on Calvi. Our tents are to be left standing. The men are to move with their blankets, camp kettles and two days' provisions. Our situation this night and to-morrow will be a hot one; we parade at seven.

" 5th July, 1794. I moved from camp about eight in the evening with the reserve, and a little after nine was formed in front of the ground on which the battery was to be built. . . . It (*i.e.* the attack) was given up, the materials carried back and the reserve ordered to retire. . . . The 50th and 51st were to have been employed at the battery. . . .

" 6th July, 1794. The enemy do not seem to have any conception of our intentions. The orders are given for the advance and everything is so well detailed that there can be no doubt of our establishing

ourselves. I cover the attack with the reserve the same as before. We march in an hour hence and shall be on our ground about nine ; we have from that time till half-past three to get the battery ready. It is to be hoped that we shall open upon them at four to-morrow morning.

" 9th July, 1794. . . . Only one man was wounded by a grape-shot. The reserve drew up behind a wall in front of the intended battery ; the 50th and 51st and seamen, by great exertions, constructed the battery, forwarded the ammunition, etc.

" 13th July, 1794. . . . Captain Nelson was wounded by stones in the face. It is feared he will lose one of his eyes. My batman was knocked down by my side by rubbish and a good deal bruised ; the ball struck a heap of stones close to us. The General and everybody is eager to advance. It is evident that the closer we are to them the less troublesome we find them.

" 18th July, 1794. . . . The attack on the Mozello is fixed for to-morrow at daylight. I am to storm it at the head of the Grenadiers ; the whole arrangements are so good that the business must succeed. We move from our camp at eleven, *i.e.*, in half-an-hour. A battery is now being built considerably nearer the town. It is to open upon the left of the town at the same time that the troops advance.

" 19th July, 1794. The different corps were assembled at their rendezvous about one in the morning. Lieut.-Colonel Wemyss with the Royal Irish and two field-pieces was to attack the Half-Moon or Sans-Culottes battery. I was to attack the Mozello with the reserve (which included the grenadier and light infantry companies of the 51st). The 50th and 51st, in the rear of the new battery, were to support wherever it was necessary. I advanced with the reserve to a field within two or three hundred yards of the Mozello, but covered from its fire. I there formed the Grenadiers and Light Infantry in a column of Companies and sent the Royals to draw up in the rear of two field pieces which I sent forward to a height in my front ; each Grenadier carried a sandbag and we had a sufficient number of ladders, fourteen in all. Here we waited for the signal, which was to be a gun from the new battery. The General came to me about half-past three. About this time some of the enemy's sentries or piquets fired upon the 18th upon our left, and soon afterwards the signal to advance was given. The General kept for some time at the head of the Grenadiers. A party of artificers a little in our front began to cut the palisades, but we were upon them before they could effect it. Captain M'Donald, who commanded the Royal Grenadiers, and I got through the palisades first at an opening made by our shot. The men instantly followed and giving

a cheer ran up to the bottom of the breach. We were annoyed both by shot, hand-grenades and live shells which the enemy had placed on the ramparts and rolled over upon us. Luckily neither sandbags nor ladders were necessary. The men threw them down. The Grenadiers advanced with their bayonets with such intrepidity that the French gave way and ran out of the fort. One of them was bayoneted in the act of firing a field piece. Captain M'Donald and I, with a few men, attacked the breach upon the left and, in going to it, I was wounded in the head by the splinter of a shell. It turned me round and made me senseless for a moment. I recovered and went on. Within a yard or two of the top Captain M'Donald was severely wounded in the face and obliged to retire, and four or five of the men fell dead. With the rest I got on and in a moment the place was filled with the five companies of Grenadiers. Two companies of Light Infantry had been ordered to move quickly round the foot of the fort and get between the enemy and the town, but the Grenadiers stormed so briskly that the Light Infantry could not arrive in time. By this means most of the enemy escaped. Major Brereton with the rest of the Light Infantry, the Royals, and two field pieces formed with his left to the Mozello fronting the convent of St. Francisco, to support me if necessary or to prevent the enemy coming upon my flank. The General, who had been close to us the whole time, ran up and took me in his arms. The 18th had met with little resistance. They immediately began to entrench themselves. I sent everybody out of the Mozello except one company, who were employed in making a traverse. The fire from the town began to open upon us. The wound in my head became troublesome. The General desired that I would return to camp with the Light Infantry who had been out for two nights. I do not believe the loss exceeds twenty-five or thirty men killed and wounded. We have gained a strong position within 500 or 600 yards of the fortress. Major Oakes called some hours ago to tell me the General had summoned the town. The firing has not recommenced. It is, I think, most probable that they (*i.e.* Calvi garrison) will capitulate.

"CAMP, NEAR CALVI. 27th July, 1794. Since the evening of the 19th, the enemy have not fired a shot. We have been employed in forwarding every species of stores and ammunition to the rear of the Mozello and in erecting batteries. This can be done but slowly. Our hands are few. The soldiers are worked amazingly, but do whatever is required with great cheerfulness. Our batteries will be ready to open to-morrow or next day. The General sleeps every night in the trenches. Two days ago the reserve moved to their present camp, a little in rear of the six-gun battery; the other corps

had already moved their camps. The duty of the trenches is done by corps, and we are in them every other night; both men and officers are getting sickly. The heat is excessive.

"30th July, 1794. The night of the 28th the reserve went into the trenches; the greatest part of the men were employed in working on the batteries for the whole night. Soon after daylight the batteries were completed. . . . In all there were thirty-three pieces of ordnance. The enemy upon seeing our batteries manned theirs, but did not fire. . . . I was relieved from the trenches at sunset and walked home with the General. Nothing is finally determined. He must see Lord Hood; but I take for granted no more shots will be fired. The men and officers fall ill daily; considerably more than a third of our force are in the sick report, perhaps there never was so much work done by so few men in the same space of time."

Lieut. Samuel Rice, of the 51st, wrote from Corsica to his father a letter, dated "Camp before Calvi, 2nd August, 1794" as follows:—

"A flag of truce having just come in or rather hoisted in the town by the enemy, and being not so much distracted by shot and shell, I embrace the opportunity (which I may say with truth is almost the only one I have had since the commencement of the siege) of writing these few lines. Do not expect now, when I begin, that I am going to give you minute details of all our operations here. In the first place it would not be in my power and, in the next, they would be very uninteresting. The papers will in all probability soon show the fate of Calvi and the operations before it. They are, in my opinion, better able to provide news of that nature than are private letters. The most satisfactory news, I imagine, to you will be that of my health and safety. The flag of truce above mentioned will in all probability terminate in the capitulation of Calvi, which I am extremely glad to think likely not on account of the shot and shell, but on account of the great sickness from which both officers and men are suffering. The disease, which is fever, not only happens to the most delicate, but seizes in the most sudden manner on the most robust and healthy. We have now out of our Army upwards of two thousand lying in fevers, and a great number of officers. It is not very dangerous, but two officers have died of it. In my opinion the disease arises from our having to lie in the trenches exposed to the intense heat of the sun. I am quite tired of the siege. We have taken all the enemy's outposts and silenced all his guns, and the town has been in flames for some days. If they continue stubborn, the General is determined to hearken to no more flags of truce as he has so often been humbugged by them before; but to batter a breach and enter the town by storm, which will be easily effected, though perhaps not without a few broken heads. As yet only four

officers have been killed and six or seven wounded. Colonel Moore was slightly wounded on the head at the storming of the Mozello redoubt; but is now, I am happy to say, quite recovered. An unfortunate shot killed an officer of ours¹ the day before yesterday in the trenches. He had only just joined and was an excellent young fellow and is much lamented.

"I was at the taking of Bastia though did not reap many laurels there. All I can say is that we were ready to do anything that there was to be done. My Lord Hood and his marines claimed the honour—if there was any—of taking that town. Bastia is a very good town and will make very pleasant quarters. Calvi is to appearance no great things. Ajaccio is much the pleasantest place in the whole island."

To continue Colonel Moore's Diary—

"4th August, 1794. I returned to the trenches the evening of the 30th, and next day the fire against the town recommenced; it was but faintly returned; two officers were however killed and one wounded. . . . The guard in the trenches has been diminished and yesterday I moved the camp of the reserve to the height in front and above our first encampment; this, it is supposed, will be more healthy. Considerably more than two-thirds of our number are in the hospital; men and officers tumble down daily in the most melancholy manner. It would have been impossible for us to have carried on the siege a week longer. . . ."

"CALVI. 15th August, 1794. Upon the 10th, at nine o'clock, the reserve, a detachment of artillery, sailors, Royal Louis French gunners, and Corsicans assaulted in the rear of the seven-gun battery. The force, at ten o'clock, moved forward under my command and formed in front of Calvi within 300 yards of the gate. The General here joined us, and soon afterwards the garrison with General Casabianca and Arena, the Commissioner of the Convention, at their head, moved out and formed in line within fifty yards fronting us. After this they passed along our front and laid down their arms upon our right. They went into the low town to embark in transports provided for the purpose. I took possession of the citadel where I have been kept ever since. It is inconceivable the destruction our fire has occasioned; there is literally not a house which has not been damaged by shot or shell. The whole is a heap of ruins. The men are lodged in a large building called the Palais, the officers in the house occupied by Casabianca. Our numbers have been much diminished by sickness. Of upwards of 600, of whom the reserve is composed, only 216 were in a state to move down with us; great part of them were convalescents, most of whom have since

¹*Ensign Thomas Boggles.*

relapsed. Some of the regiments have not twenty men fit for duty. My servant, William Hillows, who has lived with me these four years, died of the fever at Bastia where I had sent him for his recovery ; he was a most trusty good servant. Since the 10th we have been lying on the floor, the officers with their cloaks, the men with their blankets. But the siege of Calvi, where we have had few luxuries, has accustomed us to disregard comforts. Captain Stewart left this on the 12th with the General's despatches.¹

"CAMP. 16th August, 1794. At nine o'clock last night I received the General's orders to return to the camp with the reserve this morning at daylight ; the Royal Irish are to garrison Calvi. I therefore left their flank companies to wait their arrival and returned with the rest. Our men continue to go down with fever. This increases the General's desire to return with the troops with all speed to Bastia. Most of the sick have embarked this morning. I expect every moment the order for the flank companies to join their regiments and embark. I shall of course return to the command of the 51st. The 51st have fewer sick than any other regiment, owing undoubtedly to our surgeon M'Cleish, who is a diligent and intelligent man ; but also, in a great degree, to the good regulation of our regimental hospital for these three or four years past. This was one of the first things to which I attended on getting the command of the Regiment. It has remained in good order ever since then. I am now rewarded by having three times the number of duty-men of any regiment here."

"ON BOARD THE *Helmsley* TRANSPORT. 20th August, 1794. I embarked with the 51st yesterday forenoon ; the rest of the troops had embarked the day before. We sailed in the evening and are now off Cape Corse. . . .

"BASTIA. 27th August, 1794. Owing to the contrary winds and bad weather we did not get to an anchor till the 23rd in the evening. I disembarked the Regiment next morning ; above 200 of our men are sick. The barracks they are put into are bad and the general hospital ill-regulated. In General (Charles) Stuart's absence nothing has been done. Villettes is confirmed in his government by orders from home.

¹ In the operations from the 18th July to the 10th August, 1794, the 51st are shown in General Stuart's despatch of the 10th August as having Lieut.-Colonel Moore wounded, Ensign Boggis killed, one Rank and File killed, two Rank and File wounded. But the casualties in the Regiment may have been heavier as the losses in the Grenadiers and Light Infantry companies are shown all together and are not distributed among corps. In Stuart's despatch of the 10th August, he wrote : " I am much indebted to Lieut.-Colonel Moore for his assistance upon every occasion ; it is only a tribute to his worth to mention that he has distinguished himself upon this Expedition for his Bravery, Conduct and Military Talent."

"BASTIA. 26th September, 1794. We (Moore and party from our round island) arrived here (Bastia) the evening of the 25th. I am sorry to find little alteration in our sick list; the number of deaths was considerable."

Lieutenant Samuel Rice, in a letter home from Corsica dated Bastia, 11th September, 1794, wrote as follows:—"I have the pleasure of telling you that we have quitted our canvas houses and have taken up our quarters in this garrison which is by no means an unpleasant one. How long we shall continue here is very uncertain at present as there are other places in the island which must be garrisoned. Our Regiment will very probably go to Ajaccio which is, by all accounts, one of the pleasantest and most healthy places in the whole island. The French, I hear, are making great preparations at Toulon to endeavour to retake the island. I hope they will make the attempt when we will give them a warm reception.

"In the letter which I wrote to you after the surrender of Calvi I think I mentioned the extreme sickness of our army. It was nothing then to what it is now. You will be astonished when I tell you the 51st Regiment was almost 500 strong at the commencement of the siege of Calvi, but now, I am sorry to say, we have not a hundred fit for duty. The rest of the regiments are in the same way. The 12th Light Dragoons, who have had no fatigue, suffer alike from this shocking and unwholesome climate. The Corsicans say that after this month is over the climate will be very healthy until July. It is to be hoped so else I am certain that in the course of three months we shall not have an English soldier in the island, if they continue to die as they have done for this some time past. The officers have suffered just as much as the men. I am the only officer of the regiment who has not been sick and how I have weathered it so long is to me astonishing. In the conquest of this island we have suffered little by the sword, but sickness has played the devil. This is a subject too shocking to dwell upon, though we are so habituated to hear of deaths that the death of a man is scarcely more noticed than that of a fly. I forgot to tell you that we left Calvi the 19th August—my birthday—and embarked on board transports for this place which is not above a day's sail with a good wind, but we unfortunately were kept nearly a week at sea. I believe I never gave you an account of Bastia; indeed I do not know whether I can further than that it is a large and populous place and resembles very much the generality of French towns. We are very much crowded here with French refugees who came from Toulon. So much so that the officers cannot get lodgings which I think a great hardship after having been so long in the field. I have been employed since I have been here in recruiting my kit which was rather the worse for

campaigning. My bedding and cot I had the misfortune to lose the first week I was in Corsica, which was, I think, the greatest misfortune that could happen to a man except the loss of his head. My softest bed for many months was the ground with one blanket (which I purchased) to cover me. It was not really cold so it did not much signify. . . . We are going to be very gay here. An Italian Opera is shortly to open which is to be patronized by the Governor and is much approved of by the garrison. A coffee-house for English papers is also to be established which I think a much better thing than the former. In fact you do not know how grand we are going to be.

"The *Moselle* frigate which, as I told you, went into Toulon with all our baggage and was captured, fell into our possession again coming out of Calvi, but the 'Sans-Culottes' took care that we should have none of our things with her. I shall come in for some prize money for Calvi. Two fine frigates were taken with the town—*La Melpomnie* and *La Mignonne*—which, it is to be hoped, will fetch some cash."

In a letter dated BASTIA, 21st October, 1794, Lieutenant Rice writes:—" . . . I am sorry I cannot tell you our troops get much better, though it is to be hoped that they soon will as the weather begins to get cold and consequently more favourable to their complaints which are chiefly the fever and ague. We continue daily to bury a great number of men and I am afraid we shall for this some time to come. It is a shocking sight to go round the different hospitals which are crowded with patients. It is a duty which we have frequently to do and which, you may conceive, is not a very pleasant one though at the same time very necessary. Poor Tourle of our Regiment has been extremely ill ever since we left Calvi, and has just gone, with another Captain of ours, to the internal parts of the country for the recovery of their healths. Most of the officers who have had this complaint have gone over to Italy which is no doubt the best place, the climate being so favourable. We cannot muster above 150 men fit for duty now and I am afraid it will be some time before we can call ourselves a Regiment again. . . ."

The following is from Moore's Diary:—

"6th November, 1794. My friend Captain Tourle of our Light Infantry was seized with fever towards the end of the siege of Calvi. He has continued more or less ill ever since, but a few days ago he was taken with an inflammation in his stomach of which he died this morning. I have been occupied all day in giving directions for his funeral, which is to-morrow, and I am just now returned from one of the last offices of a friend, seeing him placed in his coffin. When I reported his death to General Stuart and asked his orders respecting

the funeral he said he would walk as chief mourner. The General, who is full of heart, thinks this tribute due to a person he had remarked as a gentlemanly spirited officer. Tourle was undoubtedly that as well as a worthy cheerful companion. We all feel his loss, but nobody more than myself as from my first coming into the Regiment, we had lived on the most cordial and friendly footing."

The following letter from Lieutenant Rice was written from Corsica about the end of April, 1795 :—

" I am sorry to tell you that we have had the misfortune to lose Captain Alcock of our Regiment who departed this life, like poor Tourle, a martyr to the complaint of this cursed climate. 1795 He had been but a short time ill at Bastia from whence he went to Leghorn for the recovery of his health, but on his first landing was seized with a violent fever which carried him off in the course of a few days in spite of the Faculty. You may recollect my mentioning both him and his brother ; the latter who was so civil to me on coming from England and the former on my joining the Regiment. Thus (in Alcock and Tourle) we have lost two of the worthiest gentlemanlike and handsomest men that ever any regiment possessed—the one captain of grenadiers, the other of light infantry. They were both great friends of Colonel Moore's and, in short, of all the officers.

" We still continue to be very sickly in our Regiment, having above 100 privates sick in the hospital and an equal proportion of officers, for of the latter we have five sick here in the hospital, one in Italy, two gone home for the recovery of their healths, two dead and several others who have had a lucky escape from death. . . . We expect Colonel Moore here daily, who is coming for change of air, he having been likewise ill."

And a little later in a letter dated BASTIA, 2nd May, 1795, Rice writes :—

" I marched here about a fortnight ago with a detachment to assist in doing duty in this garrison. How long I shall stay here I can not say. The number of French prisoners that we have in different parts of the island makes the duty hard, as they must, of course, be guarded. I went yesterday with a party to fetch above 100 of them from near Fiorenzo and brought them here the same day. . . . We have orders to hold ourselves in readiness to take the field. Provisions and ammunition are constantly going to the interior of the country in case of a retreat. Do not be surprised if my next is from some camp among the mountains. I send this by Captain St. George, who takes home the Viceroy's despatches."

The following is the last extract to be taken from Colonel Moore's Diary :—

" FLORENCE. 14th October, 1795. I settled my business in Corsica with as much despatch as I could, paid a visit to my Regiment at Corte and sailed in the *Vamean* the morning of the 9th."¹

In a letter from Lieutenant Rice dated BASTIA, 27th June, 1796, he says :—

1796 " I have the pleasure to tell you that the Regiment left Corte the beginning of this month. . . .

The last and most serious revolt (of the Corsicans) happened about twenty miles from Corte at a place called Bagnano. The Viceroy determined to put an end to such hostile acts and came in person to Corte to give energy to the business. He was attended by a numerous suite of the most respectable people of the island and also by a number of British and foreign troops. The troops from Bastia were joined by our Grenadier company and Light Infantry company to which latter I have the honour of belonging. When everything was ready for the campaign we marched for the revolted country, our army consisting of near 5,000 men—British, foreigners and natives. The first impediment we met with was a fort, on a very commanding situation, built in the time of the French. The Corsicans, who were in possession of it, refusing to submit at discretion the troops were immediately ordered to surround it. Our two companies marched directly up to the fort and kept a very hot fire of musketry on it for some time, but finding it impossible to scale the walls we were obliged to retire, with the loss of our too brave Captain of Grenadiers, four privates killed and five wounded. It is since said that poor Shawe (Captain Robert Shawe), who was the person that fell, had no such orders as he was attempting to carry out. Whether he had or not it is now impossible to say ; when anything fails the blame is generally cast on the sufferer. No sooner had this unfortunate business happened than the news came from Corte that the town and foundry of that place were surrounded by natives and that they were determined to cut off the Viceroy and the army, upon which we were immediately ordered to retreat on Corte. . . ."

Colonel Moore had never been on particularly cordial terms with Sir Gilbert Elliot, the Commissioner, or, as he was latterly styled, the Viceroy ; in the autumn of 1795, relations appear to have become especially strained, and Sir Gilbert conveyed to Colonel Moore through General Trigge, who had succeeded General Stuart, who had taken the place of General Dundas, the commands of the Duke of Portland, Secretary of State, for Moore " to quit the island in eight and forty hours, or as soon after as a passage can be obtained for him." After a final interview with the Viceroy at which the

¹ Lieut.-Colonel John Moore visited the 51st at Corte on 4th October, 1795.

General was present, Colonel Moore left Corsica early in October and reached England on the 24th December; he at once sought interviews with Ministers and with the Commander-in-Chief, and that whatever differences he had had with Sir Gilbert Elliot, or whatever adverse opinions that official had expressed behind his back, had done Moore no possible injury, is proved by the fact that he was almost at once advanced to the rank of Brigadier-General in the West Indies and attached to a brigade of foreign troops then assembling in the Isle of Wight.

After Moore's departure from Corsica the position there of the British became first difficult, and later, precarious. There were tumults and insurrections; Napoleon's Star was in the ascendent, and the Corsicans and Emigrés were affected by the brilliance of his achievements; Spain entered into an alliance with France; and the British Government, fearing that the English ships of war might not be able to maintain naval supremacy in the Mediterranean against the combined fleets of France and Spain, decided to withdraw from the island, or as the Duke of Portland expressed it in his despatch to Sir Gilbert Elliot, "to withdraw the blessings of the British Constitution from the people of Corsica."¹

The forts and town of Porto Ferrajo in the Island of Elba, then the property of Tuscany, having been seized by Nelson under Elliot's orders, the garrisons of San Fiorenzo, Calvi and other places in Corsica were withdrawn, and on October 26th, 1796, Sir Gilbert was able to announce that the last British detachment had reached Porto Ferrajo in safety.

From here Lieutenant Rice wrote home on the 22nd March, 1797:

1797 "We are all heartily tired of this place; there is not an amusement of any kind; it is badly supplied with provisions and everything at an exorbitant rate. We unfortunate subalterns can scarce live. Our pay barely finds a good breakfast. These are the pleasures incident to a military life. We are as much in the dark as ever about our destination. Various are the Reports. Some are of opinion that we are to go back to Corsica; others that we shall go to Portugal. The latter I hope."

There is one item of regimental history which should perhaps have been mentioned in its proper chronological order, had it not been considered that it might have interrupted the narrative of the events described in the foregoing pages. On the 2nd December, 1795, General the Earl of Eglinton, who for nearly thirty years had held the Colonelcy of the 51st, was transferred to that of the Scots Greys, an appointment which he enjoyed for rather less than a year,

¹ " *Life and Letters of Sir Gilbert Elliot.*" Vol. 2, p. 355.

since he died on the 30th October, 1796. On the 2nd December, 1795, the Earl of Eglinton was succeeded as Colonel of the 51st by Major-General Anthony George Martin, formerly of the Coldstream Guards.

The following extracts from " Muster Returns " give some interesting information as to the strength of the 51st Regiment at different periods during the years 1794-1797.

San Fiorenzo. 22nd February, 1794.

Present :—one Lieutenant.-Colonel, one Major, four Captains, nine Lieutenants, two Ensigns, three Staff, twenty-four Sergeants, thirteen Drummers, 323 Rank and File.

Sick and Wounded : one Officer, seven Rank and File.

San Bernardino. 25th April, 1794.

Present : one Lieut.-Colonel, one Major, three Captains, one Captain-Lieutenant, three Corporals, thirteen Drummers, 260 Effective Private Men.

Absent : one Colonel, three Captains, one Lieutenant, five Ensigns, one Chaplain, one Mate, six Sergeants, six Corporals, seven Drummers, 224 Privates, together with one Sergeant and ten Privates become non-effective.

Effectives Present 260, Absent 224, Non-Effective ten, Total 494.

Bastia. 30th October, 1794.

Present : one Lieut.-Colonel, one Major, three Captains, seven Lieutenants, four Ensigns, one Quartermaster, one Surgeon, sixteen Sergeants, fifteen Corporals, sixteen Drummers, 198 Privates.

Absent : one Colonel, three Captains, one Captain-Lieutenant, three Lieutenants, one Ensign, one Chaplain, one Adjutant, one Mate, ten Sergeants, ten Corporals, five Drummers, 250 Privates, together with one Ensign, three Sergeants, four Corporals, one Drummer, forty-five Men become non-effective.

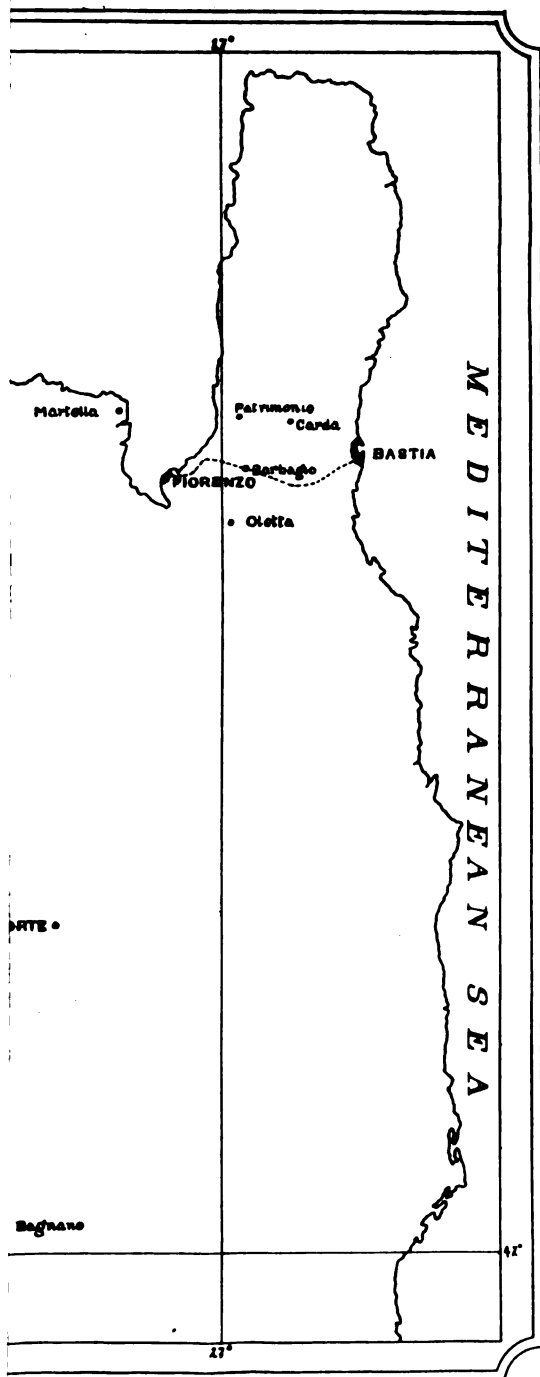
Effectives : Present 198, Absent 250, Non-Effective forty-five, Total 493.

Corte. 17th June, 1795.

Present : one Major, four Captains, one Captain-Lieutenant, seven Lieutenants, one Ensign, one Adjutant, one Quartermaster, one Surgeon, twenty-one Sergeants, nineteen Corporals, twenty-two Drummers, 259 Privates.

Absent : one Colonel, one Captain, three Lieutenants, five Ensigns, one Chaplain, one Mate, seven Sergeants, ten Corporals, 162 Privates, together with one Captain, one Sergeant, and seven Privates become non-effective.

Effectives : Present 259, Absent 162, Non-Effective seven, Total 428.



Corte. 25th December, 1795.

Present: one Major, three Captains, one Captain-Lieutenant, eight Lieutenants, two Ensigns, one Adjutant, one Quartermaster, one Surgeon, twenty-three Sergeants, twenty-six Corporals, twenty Drummers, 384 Privates.

Absent: one Colonel, one Lieut.-Colonel, four Captains, one Lieutenant, three Ensigns, one Chaplain, one Mate, five Sergeants, three Corporals, two Drummers, ninety-eight Privates, together with one Sergeant and nineteen Privates become non-effective.

Effectives: Present 384, Absent ninety-eight, Non-Effective nineteen, Total 501.

Bastia. 20th June, 1796.

Present: two Majors, four Captains, six Lieutenants, three Ensigns, one Quartermaster, one Surgeon, seventeen Sergeants, eighteen Corporals, sixteen Drummers, 322 Privates.

Absent: one Colonel, two Lieut.-Colonels, four Captains, one Captain-Lieutenant, four Lieutenants, three Ensigns, one Chaplain, one Adjutant, one Mate, twelve Sergeants, eleven Corporals, six Drummers, 139 Privates, together with one Captain, and twenty Privates become non-effective.

Effectives: Present 322, Absent 139, Non-Effective twenty, Total 481.

Porto Ferrajo. 6th April, 1797.

Present: one Lieut.-Colonel, one Major, four Captains, four Lieutenants, one Ensign, one Adjutant, one Quartermaster, twenty Sergeants, twenty Corporals, twenty Drummers, 323 Privates.

Absent: one Colonel, one Lieut.-Colonel, one Major, four Captains, one Captain-Lieutenant, nine Lieutenants, six Ensigns, one Chaplain, one Surgeon, one Mate, six Sergeants, eight Corporals, one Drummer, 107 Privates, together with three Sergeants, one Corporal, one Drummer, thirty-six Privates become non-effective.

Effectives: Present 323, Absent 107, Non-Effective thirty-six, Total 466.

PORTUGAL, THE CAPE, INDIA AND CEYLON

1797-1807

X

THERE are in existence¹ two Muster Rolls of the 51st Regiment both dated Porto Ferrajo, 6th April, 1797, the one covering the six months from the 25th December, 1795, to the 24th June, 1796, the other for the period from the 24th June, 1796, to the 24th December of the same year. The first of these shows as "Present" one Lieut.-Colonel, one Major, four Captains, four Lieutenants, one Ensign, one Adjutant, one Quartermaster, twenty Sergeants, twenty Corporals, twenty Drummers and 323 Privates; while under "Absent" there were one Colonel, one Lieut.-Colonel, one Major, four Captains, one Captain-Lieutenant, nine Lieutenants, six Ensigns, one Chaplain, one Surgeon, one Mate, six Sergeants, eight Corporals, one Drummer and 107 Privates, together with three Sergeants, one Corporal, one Drummer and thirty-six Privates "since become non-effective." Effectives present 323, absent 107, non-effective thirty-six, total 466.

In the later Return we find "Present" one Lieut.-Colonel, one Major, four Captains, four Lieutenants, two Ensigns, one Adjutant, one Quartermaster, twenty-two Sergeants, twenty-three Corporals, twenty-two Drummers and 318 Privates. There are shown "Absent" one Colonel, one Major, one Captain, one Captain-Lieutenant, ten Lieutenants, five Ensigns, one Chaplain, one Surgeon, one Mate, seven Sergeants, six Corporals and 110 Privates, together with ten Privates "since become non-effective." Effectives present 318, absent 110, non-effective ten, total 438.

But we have also a Return² showing the state of the 51st at Porto Ferrajo, on the 30th January, 1797, and this gives two Lieut.-Colonels, two Majors, five Captains, eight Lieutenants, three Ensigns, one Adjutant, one Quartermaster, one Surgeon, twenty-seven Sergeants, twenty-two Drummers, 331 Rank and File present and fit for duty, nineteen sick in hospital, twenty-six sick in quarters, thirty-five Privates on board ship or on command, forty serving as "additional gunners," three on furlough and five recruiting, total 459.

It will be noticed that in the two first of these returns the Chaplain

¹ W.O. 12/6179-80. ² W.O. 1/217.



PORTUGAL, THE CAPE, INDIA AND CEYLON—1797-1807

is shown as "absent," while in the last he is not mentioned at all, the reason for this being that on the 23rd September, 1796, regimental chaplains were by warrant abolished, it having been found that clergymen could not be obtained willing to go abroad with regiments for the meagre stipend then offered. Shortly after this a Chaplain's Department was formed.

The 51st had not been long in Elba before preparations were being made for its transfer to another country and to a different scene of action—or, more properly perhaps, inaction.

On the 3rd December, 1796, the Secretary at War wrote to Lieut.-General Charles Stuart, under whom the 51st had already served, informing him that England's ancient ally, Portugal, was threatened with invasion by Spain, under dictation from Napoleon; that Portugal had sought assistance from England, but that in view of the danger already threatening her from France and the great extent of possessions to be defended, the British Cabinet could not do much. It had, however, been decided to send 5,000 men to Portugal and General Stuart was directed at once to proceed to Lisbon, "where the force will be collected with the utmost expedition." The War Minister added that it was hoped, though hardly expected, that the Portuguese army would be placed under General Stuart's command.

He was given a list of the corps composing his little force:—

From Great Britain : 12th Light Dragoons	600
From Corsica and Gibraltar : Royal Engineers	8
Royal Artillery	96
2nd Battalion Royals	600
50th Foot	600
51st Foot	600
From Great Britain : Rotalier : gunners	280
Mortemart : infantry	436
de Castrics : infantry	627
La Chartre	322
From Corsica and Gibraltar : Foreign Engineers	93
French Cannoniers	82
Malthese (<i>sic</i>) Cannoniers	99
French Chasseurs	86
Smith's Corps (uncertain)....	436
Dillon's Regt.—1st Batt.	499
" " 2nd "	612
Royal Etrangers	750
Total British and Foreign	6826

It may, in these days, be of interest to quote the estimate of tonnage considered then necessary for camp and hospital necessities :

Camp necessities for one regiment, cavalry at 640 men.

three regiments, infantry at 864 men.

eight foreign battalions at 400 men=182 tons.

Hospital necessities=100 tons.

The following officers were appointed to the staff of the force—Adjutant-General, Colonel Sir James St. C. Erskine, Bt., 12th Dragoons; Quartermaster-General, Colonel Oakes, 26th Regiment; A.D.C.'s, Major Stewart, 51st, and Captain Gifford, 26th Foot; Military Secretary, Major Hadden, Royal Artillery.

Lieut.-General Stuart was given an undated commission as General so as to ensure his not being, under any circumstances, junior to a Portuguese officer of similar rank.

General Stuart reported his arrival at the mouth of the Tagus, where was the British fleet under Admiral Sir John Jervis, on the 9th January, 1797; and on the 12th he wrote home to Henry Dundas informing him that the Admiral had directed the 18th, 50th and 51st Regiments to proceed to the Tagus without touching at Gibraltar. He added that he had learnt with infinite regret that, during the evacuation of Corsica, "Smith's Regiment, a considerable body of Dillon's Corps, the French cannoniers, and even Soldiers of the British regiments had deserted, while seventy men of de Roll's have been lost while trying to land on the coast of Italy." He pointed out that his force would now be greatly reduced from the estimate of its strength as originally given to him, and that he proposed drafting the 18th into the 50th and 51st so as to make these two regiments up to a respectable establishment. He added that no preparations had been made by the Portuguese Government for the comfort and support of the British troops.

It would seem that at this time all the officers, excepting the adjutant, of Smith's Union Regiment had been attached to and distributed amongst the Royals, 18th, 50th and 51st Regiments.

In the month of April, General Stuart was absent from Lisbon on tour, and to him Colonel Oakes, his Q.M.G., wrote on the 18th that he proposed placing the British regiments on first arrival in Fort St. Julien and at Cascaes. Then follow some remarks which seem to demand an explanation which is not, however, forthcoming. "I was surprized this morning," he wrote, "by a visit from Colonel Elford, 51st Regiment, who left Elba in the *Fox*, cutter, the 24th last month at which time no orders had been received by General

Note.—All the information given in this chapter about the 51st in Portugal is taken from the Original Correspondence at the P.R.O. in W.O. 1/217-20.

de Burgh for evacuating the place." The *Fox* had been chased by four Spanish ships but had got safely into Gibraltar on the 11th April, leaving again on the 13th. Falling in with the fleet under Jervis, Elford was put on board the *Pallas* frigate, thus reaching Lisbon on the 18th when he presented himself before Colonel Oakes, gave him the above news, and added that General O'Hara had told him (Elford) that it had been decided the 18th Regiment should remain at Gibraltar.

Then follows the rather cryptic paragraph above referred to: "Colonel Elford goes to England in the packet on Sunday; he was very inquisitive to know *all* about the orders for sending him home which I took upon me to say you had positively received from the Duke of York; he takes it *fortunately* as a great compliment, talks of his raising a regiment at St. John's and being appointed a brigadier-general."

At the end of May or beginning of June, 1797, the whole of the troops were withdrawn from Elba and, convoyed by Nelson with a portion of the British fleet, were transferred to Gibraltar. Here the 51st do not appear to have landed, but, after a very few days spent in the bay, sailed again for the Tagus with the rest of the troops destined to form General Stuart's long over-due force. The transports seem to have arrived in the Tagus on the 21st June, since that is the date of the "state" of the 51st forwarded on arrival. It shows: one Lieut.-Colonel, one Major, six Captains, twelve Lieutenants, five Ensigns, one Adjutant, one Quartermaster, one Surgeon, thirty Sergeants, twenty-two Drummers, 563 Privates present and fit for duty, twenty-nine sick—Total 592, with ninety-six women and 135 children.

On first arrival, and certainly up to the end of September, the 51st was in camp at a place called Manique, but for the winter the Regiment occupied, with the Royals, quarters at Cascaes, when their total strength is given at 503.

At this period, if one may judge from Stuart's correspondence with Ministers, he was anxious about the position of his force which he considered somewhat precarious; the Portuguese government had taken no really useful steps for the defence of the Kingdom, there seemed some reason to believe that our Ally's cabinet might conclude a separate treaty with France, while it was feared that Spain might carry out her long-considered project of invasion. As is not unusual in such cases the man on the spot was regarded as an alarmist and he was informed that his views were not shared by His Majesty's government. General Stuart was, however, enjoined to concert measures with Admiral Jervis for withdrawing the English troops from the neighbourhood of Lisbon should the necessity for such action arise.

On the 15th March, 1798, Stuart wrote to Dundas that all ranks of the force under his command wished to give one week's pay per man, or £3,700 down and an equal sum annually, as long as the war should last, for the service of the State. The General forwarded letters from all the commanding officers serving under him and that from the Officer Commanding 51st Foot runs as follows :—

“ Cascaes, 15th March, 1798.

“ Sir,

“ *I have the honour to inform you that the Officers, Non-commissioned Officers, Drummers and Privates of the 51st Regiment desire to continue their subscription for one week's pay yearly during the war in support of the same and for the defence of their King and Country, and which you will please communicate to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.*

I have the honour to be,

Sir, Your most obedient and most humble Servant,

R. Pringle, Colonel and Commanding 51st Regiment.”

“ Major-General Sir J. St. Clair Erskine, Bart.”

The subscription, a week's pay, amounted for the 51st Regiment to £305 17s. 10½d.

In acknowledging General Stuart's communication the Secretary of State expressed “ the great satisfaction of His Majesty at the liberal and voluntary subscription for the defence of His Majesty's Kingdom, and at their highly public spirited and loyal resolution to continue the same annually during the continuance of the war.”

On the 1st May, 1798, the Rank and File of the 51st numbered 575.

On the 13th June, General Stuart left Lisbon for England, having the intention at the time of resigning his command, but, as we shall see, he returned to it later. He handed over to Lieut.-General Simon Fraser, whose staff was composed as under :—

Adjutant-General—Vacant.

Quartermaster-General—Colonel Oakes.

Deputy Adjutant-General—Lieut.-Colonel Richard Stewart, 51st.

Deputy Quartermaster-General—Lieut.-Colonel Lindenthal.

D.A.Q.M.G.'s, Major Neville, R.A. and Capt. Mandeville, 18th.

A.D.C.'s—Captain Lord Blantyre and Major Fraser.

Major-General—Sir James St. Clair Erskine, Bt., A.D.C.

Captain Head.

Brigadier-Generals—W. Anne Villettes and John Stuart, 3rd Guards.

Brigade Majors—Captain Macdonald, Royals. Captain Trant, Irish Brigade. Major de Picori, Regiment Mortemart and Major de Maillier, Regiment Castries.

General Fraser forwarded a "state" of the troops under his command dated the 12th June, 1798, and in it the strength of the 51st Foot is given as one Lieut.-Colonel, one Major, eight Captains, nine Lieutenants, two Ensigns, one Adjutant, one Quartermaster, one Surgeon, one Mate, twenty-nine Sergeants, twenty-two Drummers, 521 Rank and File present, five sick in hospital, twenty-seven sick in quarters, total 553, with eighty-two women, 112 children and fifteen horses. It speaks well for the healthiness of the camps that out of a total strength of 5,286 only twenty-six of the whole force were sick in hospital.

On the 26th June a "secret" despatch was written from London to Lieut.-General Fraser stating that in view of warlike preparations by certain of the Native Princes of India it was considered imperatively necessary at once to augment the forces in that country, that this could not be done from England owing to the disturbed situation in Europe and the rebellion in Ireland, and General Fraser was therefore ordered to hold the Royals, the 50th and 51st in readiness to embark for the East directly vessels should arrive for them in the Tagus. In acknowledging receipt of this communication the general stated that 150 men in the three regiments named were not fit for "distant service."

General Stuart returned to his command in Portugal on the 18th September; on the 2nd October the 51st marched from Cascaes; and on the 5th and 6th the Regiment sailed from the Tagus in different East Indiamen escorted by the *Pomone*, detachments being on board the *Royal Charlotte* with Captain Flood, the *Cuffnells* with Captain Blackall, and the *Aligator* with Major Logan.

On the 19th January, ¹1799, the transports with the 51st on board arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, where the Regiment landed and was inspected by the Governor, General Dundas, and whence Captain Rice of the Light Company wrote home on the 26th January²: "Had not our water failed, I should not have had the pleasure of sending you these few lines, it being the positive order of the Commodore not to touch anywhere except *en cas de besoin*. We arrived here three weeks ago after a passage of twelve weeks. Nothing material happened only that one of the large Indiamen ran foul of us in the night and carried away part of our stern. . . . Soon after our arrival here we received orders to disembark, and to remain until such time as a reinforcement should arrive. I am happy to say that

¹ It will be noticed that there is a discrepancy between the date here given and that quoted by Rice—possibly the Headquarters arrived later than the other part of the Regiment.

² "Life," p. 89.

yesterday orders were issued for a re-embarkation. Our heavy baggage goes on board to-morrow : I imagine we shall do so the day after. The General, whose name is Dundas, reviewed us the other morning, and was highly pleased with our appearance, and not without reason. We no doubt are, for our numbers, the prettiest and best-disciplined regiment in the Service. You will excuse my mentioning it."

The 51st disembarked at Madras on the 13th April and was quartered in Fort St. George, to find that little more than a month previously the Second Mysore War had ended with the fall of Seringapatam, that India was quieting down, and that reinforcements for the army in India were now no longer needed. Orders were almost immediately received for the Regiment to proceed to Ceylon and it consequently embarked on board ship again ; but adverse winds and strong currents prevented the transports from making the island and they were obliged to return to Madras where the 51st disembarked and again, in May, was quartered at Fort St. George.

On June 3rd, 1799, the following was published in General Orders :
 "The 10th and 51st and Madras Militia were under arms and formed a square on the General Parade for the purpose of receiving the standard of the late Tippoo Sultaun, taken on the 4th May in the fort of Seringapatam, and also the Colours of the French Republic taken on the same day from the French Corps in the service of that Prince."

By the 11th June of this year the Regiment had marched to and was stationed at St. Thomas's Mount, about ten miles from Fort St. George, whither however it returned on the 7th August.

Two days later—on the 9th—Rice wrote home the following letter¹ which gives some account of the movements of the Regiment at this time :—"The homeward-bound fleet leaves the Roads to-morrow. The mail is ordered to be made up this evening. Only one ship has left this coast for England since our arrival, which was with the news of the capture of Seringapatam. I was then with a detachment up the country, and did not know of her sailing which accounts for my not having written before. . . . By the last news from Europe this part of the world is likely to be the quietest for some time to come. The war seems only to be just begun ; the fate of England and of Europe in general must soon be determined. We embarked for Colombo in Ceylon soon after our arrival here. After cruising in the Bay for three weeks, and beating against the monsoon in vain, we were at length compelled to put back with half our men sick. Our loss has been very great and the Regiment is still very sickly. It is yet thought that when the monsoon shifts we shall again attempt Colombo. . . ."

¹ "*Asiatic Annual Register for 1799*," p. 262.

"*Life*," p. 92.

Soon after returning to Fort St. George the Regiment was detailed to take part in another ceremony, the details of which are given in Fort St. George Garrison Orders of the 20th August as under :¹ "The troops in garrison to be under arms to-morrow morning at half past five o'clock to receive His Excellency Meer Allum Bahadar, Ambassador for His Excellency the Subahdar of the Deccan.

"His Excellency will enter at the St. George's Gate and be received with presented arms by His Majesty's 51st Regiment, which will form a street leading from the Gate to the General Parade. The 2nd Division 1st European Regiment will fall in on the left of the 51st and the Madras Militia under Major Taswell will form a continuation of the street to the front of the Admiralty House.

"The Madras Battalion will march in at the Wallajah Gate and form a street round by the front of the Arsenal to the Admiralty House."

The time for the 51st to again essay a voyage to Ceylon was now drawing near, but before leaving India they helped to
1800 honour Lord Harris, the Commander-in-Chief, on his departure from Madras, for we read that² :—"The Commander-in-Chief embarked early on Sunday morning under the honours and salutes due to his rank. His Majesty's 51st Regiment, the Honourable Company's European Regiment and the Madras Militia formed a street through which His Excellency passed to the place of Embarkation."

About the middle of February, 1800, the Regiment embarked for Ceylon for the second time, speeded on its way by the following special valedictory order issued by the Governor of Madras, son of the great Lord Clive :—"Headquarters, Choultry Plain, 14th February, 1800. The Rt. Hon. the Governor-General cannot permit His Majesty's 51st Regiment to embark without expressing the satisfaction he has received from every part of their conduct since they have done duty at Fort St. George. The ordinary detail of garrison duty seldom furnishes matter for particular praise ; but the regularity and correctness of this excellent corps, as well in its interior economy as in the performance of its public duties, have been so uniform and exemplary, that his lordship cannot take leave of Lieut.-Colonel Pringle without offering his particular thanks to that meritorious officer, and requesting that he will communicate to the officers and men of the Regiment his lordship's marked approbation."

The strength of the 51st Regiment at the time of embarkation for Ceylon was 450 Rank and File.

¹ " *Asiatic Annual Register for 1800*," p. 27.

² " *Ibid.*" p. 53, under date of 26th January, 1800.

The 51st landed at Trincomalee three days after leaving Madras, remaining there in camp for a week, and then proceeding again by sea to Colombo, which was to be the headquarters of the Regiment during at any rate the early portion of its stay in the island.

On the 26th July, Captain Rice wrote home : " Our stay at Trincomalee was not long. This is by far the best place in the island, but although it is surrounded by cinnamon gardens and many other fine things, I cannot say much in its favour. It is something cooler than the coast of India ; existence may be endured ; but there is no society whatever. It is most probable that our Regiment will remain some time on the island—I am afraid longer than we wish. Everything here is very expensive, owing to the difficulty of getting supplies from the coast (India), which can only be done in the particular seasons. A secret expedition has lately been fitted out at Madras. Part has already sailed with His Majesty's 10th Regiment. We are always left out ; better luck I hope for the future. Little is stirring in the country since the fall of the Mysorean tyrant, nor do I think there will be for some time to come. A Mahratta war was talked of, but I believe they are too wise."

At the time of the arrival of the 51st in Ceylon, the only other troops there, exclusive of local corps, seem to have consisted of three companies of the 19th Foot ; the remaining five companies of this regiment arrived early in 1800.

Major-General Martin, the Colonel of the 51st Régiment, died in London on the 1st May, 1800, and on the 9th of the same month Major-General William Morshead, from Colonel Commandant of the 60th Foot, was appointed Colonel in his place.

At the end of 1800, Colonel the Hon. Arthur Wellesley was placed in command of a force of 5,000 men which was to rendezvous at Trincomalee, the port on the eastern coast of the island of Ceylon, with the intention of proceeding thence to attempt the capture of the French possessions of Isle de France and Bourbon. The force placed at Wellesley's disposal was made up as under :—

Proceeding from Calcutta, including followers, Europeans						
and Natives .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	2,700
Five Companies of the 19th Foot from Negapatam ..	..	..	..	..	..	500
Remainder of the 19th Foot .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	300
The 80th Foot .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	800
Lascars and Followers from Ceylon .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	700
Total						5,000

¹ " *Life*." p. 96.

Colonel Wellesley arrived at Trincomalee on the 22nd December, 1800, and began at once to busy himself with perfecting the arrangements for his proposed expedition. He appears to have received all possible assistance from the Governor, the Hon. Frederick North, who seems to have been prepared to denude the island of troops in order that Wellesley's force should be complete. In a letter¹ from the Governor-General, Lord Wellesley, to his brother dated the 21st December, 1800, and received on the 7th of the following month, he writes :—" If his (Mr. North's) overflowing zeal should dispose him to add the 51st Regiment to your force, and if you can contrive to accommodate it with conveyance, you have my permission to take it with you to the object of your immediate destination. . . . If Mr. North should give you the 51st Regiment it may be a question whether it might not be expedient to leave the Bengal volunteers to form part of the garrison of Trincomalee. I leave that question to your joint decision, apprising you, however, of my anxious desire that the laudable zeal manifested by the officers and men of that corps should not be disappointed. I am also of opinion that it would be desirable, in every point of view, to carry the whole force with you. . . ."

The 51st does not seem to have heard of this proposal, or possibly it was not believed that anything was likely to come of it, for Captain Fleming of the Regiment appears to have addressed to Wellesley a request for employment on the proposed expedition; to this Wellesley replied on the 18th January as follows :² " I have received your letter of the 8th inst., and although I highly approve and commend your desire to be employed on service I am concerned that I cannot comply with your request without the consent of the Commander-in-Chief. I must inform you that however commendable I may think your wish to accompany the troops assembled at this place, you are not the only person who has communicated such a wish to me. Many officers upon the coast and in different parts of India, and some on this island, have offered their services upon this same occasion; but, as I conceive the usual proportion of officers to the number of troops to be employed sufficient, I have not thought it proper to request that more officers should be sent; and I cannot depart from this line of conduct in your case without doing injustice to others who have come forward in a similar manner. If, however, the Commander-in-Chief should think proper to order that you may do duty with the detachment of the 86th Regiment, now at Galle, it will give me great satisfaction."

¹ Gurwood, "*Supplementary Despatches, 1858 Edition.*" Vol. 2, p. 324.

² *Ibid.* Vol. 2, p. 326.

When, on the 24th January, 1801, the Governor-General wrote to his brother a letter (received at Trincomalee on the 21st February) announcing the postponement of the projected expedition against Isle de France, and that instead one against Batavia was to be undertaken with the least possible delay, the hopes of all ranks of the 51st must again have been raised, since Lord Wellesley stated that "it is my intention that the whole force now assembled on the island of Ceylon shall be employed on this service."

Almost immediately, however, after dispatching this letter the Governor-General must have received orders from England under which the troops collected for the original service were directed to proceed at once to Egypt under command of Sir David Baird. This decision was announced to Colonel Wellesley in a letter dated Fort George, 1st February, and Ceylon was shortly after left in its ordinary state of comparative quiet.

During the month of January, 1803, the following appointments were made on the Ceylon Military Establishment¹: " Lieutenant C. W. Mercer, of the 51st Regiment, to be Fort Adjutant of Point de Galle, *vice* Dalrymple promoted to a company in His Majesty's Malay Regiment Lieut.-Colonel David Robertson to be Commandant of Colombo during the absence of Colonel Baillie (51st) . . The following officers are appointed to officiate as Vice-President and Members of the Military Board while the troops are in the field: Lieut.-Colonel David Robertson, Vice-President; Members; Lieut.-Colonel Maddison, Major John Wilson, Lieutenant Keyt (51st), Mr. Peter Smellie, Secretary (later 51st). Lieutenant Peter Campbell (51st) to be Brigade-Major to Colonel Baillie. . . . Captain Pollock (51st), Military Auditor General, to join his regiment without prejudice to his staff appointment. Lieut. Keyt to act as Auditor of Military Accounts during the absence of Captain Pollock. . . ."

It is difficult to state what exactly were the functions of "the Military Board": Cordiner. Vol. I, p. 373, states somewhat vaguely, that it existed "for the better ordering of military affairs."

The history of the western invasion and conquest of Ceylon may now very briefly be set down. It was in 1505 that the Portuguese landed in the island, built a fort at Colombo, and from that time onward endeavoured with varying success to establish control over the whole country. In 1602 the Dutch landed on the east coast, sought the alliance of the King of Kandy, and held out every inducement to him to aid in expelling the Portuguese. It was not, however,

¹ " *Asiatic Annual Register for 1803*," p. 147.

until 1638 that the Dutch made any real headway, and in that year they attacked and razed to the ground many of the Portuguese forts; in 1644 they captured and fortified Negombo, in 1656 they took Colombo, and two years later drove the Portuguese from Jaffna, their last stronghold in the island.

The first intercourse of the British with Ceylon was as far back as 1763, when an embassy was dispatched from Madras to the King of Kandy, without, however, leading to any result; but on the rupture between England and Holland in 1795 a force under General Stuart was sent against the Dutch possessions in Ceylon, and the opposition made was so feeble that within a very few months all their forts and settlements were in the hands of the British. At first the island was administered from Madras as a possession of the East India Company; but shortly prior to the landing there of the 51st the new colony was placed directly under the Crown; while by the Treaty of Amiens in 1803 the Dutch possessions in Ceylon were formally ceded to Great Britain.

For some few years British dominion was confined to the coastal districts—to such width of territory as could be dominated by the guns of our men-of-war, the central, hilly tracts of country, hedged in by impenetrable forests and precipitous mountain ranges, remaining in possession of the last kinglet of the Sinhalese dynasty, who showed no wish to encourage communication with his British neighbours.

About the middle of the year 1798 the King of Kandy died, and the all-powerful Prime Minister placed a mere puppet on the throne, and imprisoned or made away with all the leading men who seemed likely to oppose him. In January, 1800, this Minister opened negotiations with the Governor at Colombo with a view to obtaining support to a project he had formed of deposing or assassinating the king he had set up, and of securing the throne for himself. In March, 1800, the Governor sent an embassy to Kandy headed by Major-General Macdowall, who took with him as escort five companies of the 19th Foot, five companies of the 2nd Battalion 6th Regiment of Coast Sepoys, five companies of the Malay Regiment, six guns of the Bengal Artillery and some Madras Pioneers. Among the presents taken for the King of Kandy was "an elegant state coach with six horses"! Nothing resulted from the negotiations which General Macdowall conducted with the King, and the embassy terminated without any alteration in the connection between the two Powers concerned with the affairs of the island.

Not long after the General had returned to Colombo there was some disagreement between the British Government and the Kandian Minister relative to the making of a road between Colombo and

Trincomalee, and thereafter it became apparent that the people of Kandy were preparing for war ; they gradually became more and more truculent, until in April, 1802, certain merchants, British subjects, were ill-treated and robbed, while demands for redress were treated with disdain, or answered by ridiculous counter-proposals.¹

Mr. North, the Governor, now decided to adopt hostile measures, but every effort continued to be made to bring the Kandian leaders to reason, and negotiations were so long protracted that it was not until early in 1803, that the field force which had been detailed to act against Kandy, actually marched for the interior. The force was divided into two bodies : the first, or Colombo division, moved on the 31st January, 1803, under the command of Major-General Macdowall ; it consisted of two companies of the 19th Foot, the 51st, 625 strong, two incomplete companies of Bengal Artillery, the Ceylon Native Infantry, 1,000 men, one company of Malay Infantry, and a corps of pioneers. The other division left Trincomalee on the 4th February, under command of a Colonel Barbutt ; he had with him five companies of the 19th Regiment, one company of Madras artillery, the greater part of the Malay Regiment and a due proportion of pioneers and gun lascars. Both columns directed their march on Kandy.

Of the start of Macdowall's column we read that " after a march of four miles and a quarter the division encamped on the banks of the Calany Ganga with their front towards the river. The ardour of the troops to push forward into the unexplored regions of Kandy was as apparent as the unwillingness of the Governor to grant them permission to proceed. The streets of the fort, pettah and suburbs of Colombo, through which they passed, were lined with spectators. The Colours of the regiments were displayed. The music of the 51st band animated the march ; and the countenances of the soldiers, full of cheerfulness and joy, discovered all the spirit of chosen heroes rushing on to victory."

The following were the marches of the column under Major-General Macdowall :

January 31st	to Mootwal,	4½ miles.
February 1st	Halt.	
" 3rd	" Carinagamme,	8½ "
" 4th	" Halpy,	10 "
" 5th	" Allogoolie,	9 "
" 6th	" Kattadenia,	4 "

¹ This account of the events leading up to and culminating in the operations against Kandy is taken from the " Asiatic Register 1803-5," Cordiner's " Ceylon," and Marshall's and Fellowes' Histories.

At Kattadenia, where there was an advance party of Ceylon Infantry under an Ensign Parker, with Lieutenant Patrick Campbell of the 51st, who appears to have been officiating as an Assistant Commissary General, the column halted four days and erected a redoubt, the command of which, with a garrison of twelve Europeans and 100 Sepoys with an assistant surgeon, was given to Campbell.

The march was resumed on February 10th to Malgamoosa, 7 miles.
 " 11th " Dambadenia, 5 "

At Malgamoosa a hundred sepoys under a British officer were left in a stockaded entrenchment, and at Dambadenia there was again a halt of several days, no doubt in order to permit of the Trincomalee column, which had a very much longer road to travel, to close up.

February 16th to Kadroo Ellie,	10 miles.
" 17th " the Magroo Oia,	6 "
" 18th " the Dick Oia,	15½ "
" 19th " Geeriegamme,	5½ "
" 20th " Kattagostally,	7½ "
" 21st " Kandy,	2½—Total 105 miles.

Only on the 19th did the column encounter any opposition, when the advance, under Major Logan of the 51st, forced the fort at Geeriegamme placed on the summit of a high hill; from this a heavy fire was opened on our party, but the enemy fled on the grenadiers of the 19th effecting an entrance, our losses being one sergeant wounded and one man died of wounds, both belonging to the 19th Foot. The day was, however, a very trying one and the exertions occasioned are said to have hastened the death of Surgeon Reeder of the 51st.

Colonel Barbutt's column encountered a certain amount of opposition on its march at a spot about twenty miles the other side of Kandy, but on the 20th he had arrived at the village of Wallapoloa, within a mile and a half of the capital. This column had completed a march of 142 miles.

The town of Kandy was found to be empty and had been fired in several places before evacuation; and though the Kandians had destroyed their arsenal, a large quantity of ammunition, brass guns and small arms was found. On the 25th February, the 51st Regiment left its camp in the outskirts of Kandy and marched into the town.

Colonel Barbutt's column had been accompanied, during the latter part of its march, by a claimant to the throne of Kandy, the candidature of whom was strongly supported by the people of the northern and eastern parts of the country. This Prince was now proclaimed by Mr. North, the Governor of Colombo, as the new king, and articles of convention were drawn up between the two; but it was early apparent that the new Sovereign had no real following, that he

had little support beyond that afforded by British bayonets, and that the majority of the Kandians remained loyal to the fugitive Monarch, who, with his Minister, was established at one of the Royal palaces at a place called Hangaramketty, in a strong position, two days' march out of Kandy.

The Minister continued to play his double role and entered into a correspondence with General Macdowall suggesting the capture of the King, and explaining in what manner this might be effected.

Accordingly on the 13th March, two small columns left Kandy for Hangaramketty by different routes; these bodies of troops were composed mainly of the flank companies of Macdowall's regiments; the one, 500 strong, being placed under command of Colonel Baillie of the 51st, the other of 300 men being led by Major and Brevet Lieut.-Col. Logan of the same corps.

Cordiner's narrative tells us that "the country between Kandy and Hangaramketty is extremely strong by nature and great pains had been taken to strengthen it still more by art. Batteries were erected on every eminence which commanded the paths through which our soldiers were to pass; and riflemen were placed in ambush in the thickest coverts of the jungle where the ground was swampy and impassable. The two detachments had only advanced a few miles from Kandy when a heavy firing commenced upon each of them from all directions. By one of the first rounds Lieutenant Frederick Hankey of the 19th Regiment, Brigade-Major of the King's troops in Colonel Baillie's division, and Lieutenant Edward Graham of the Bengal Artillery, in Lieut.-Colonel Logan's, were severely wounded. Three European soldiers, with a considerable number of Malays and Sepoys, fell at the same time. Had not the generality of the enemy's matchlocks been levelled too high to take effect, our loss must have been much greater. The firing continued without interruption for a considerable time, until at last the vigour of our musquetry, and able direction of our cohorts, drove them from their batteries and ambuscades. But though compelled to shift their ground, they relinquished not their attack, but continued from neighbouring hills and thickets to annoy the troops with jinjal pieces and firelocks; and the two divisions moved on accompanied by the forces of the enemy."

On the evening of the 14th March, after a most harassing and toilsome march through a wooded and mountainous country, the two parties joined hands at Hangaramketty and captured and burnt the palace, but found that the King, the capture of whom was the real object of the expedition, had made his escape. On the morning of the 15th the troops set out on their return march, Colonel Baillie very wisely resisting the treacherous attempts of the Minister to

lure the force further into the country. During the return march equal opposition was met with, but Kandy was reached on the evening of the 16th March, with few casualties and those chiefly among the coolies.

The natives had now cut the communications between Kandy and Colombo, and mails and supplies were captured on more than one occasion; between the 16th and 30th March, no news passed between the two capitals, until on the evening of this latter date Captain Pollock, 51st, reached Kandy with a strong escort conveying supplies of all kinds for which he had been sent down to Allogoolie. He also brought back the news that young Campbell of the 51st had been sent sick into Colombo on the 11th, but this promising young officer died not long after of the fever which had here attacked him, and which proved terribly fatal to nearly every man of the detachment that later garrisoned this post.

At this time the Kandians became very active and made many attacks upon isolated garrisons.

The rains had now commenced, and, it being evident that operations must for the present cease, it was decided to leave a garrison of a thousand men in Kandy under Colonel Barbutt, while General Macdowall returned to Colombo with the remainder of the force. A cessation of arms was agreed to, certain concessions were made on either side, and on the 1st April, General Macdowall left for Colombo with the 51st Foot, the Ceylon Native Infantry, and a portion of the Bengal Artillery, while at the same time part of the 19th Foot and the Malay infantry set out on their return to Trincomalee.

The return march of the Colombo division followed a somewhat different route from that taken for the outward journey; it was as under:

April 1st,	Geeriegamme,	9½ miles.
„	2nd, the Coss Pottoo Oia,	8½ „
„	the Yeh Aoudoorior Oia,	10 „
„	4th, Wisnaweh	11½ „
„	5th, Halt.	
„	6th, Geeriolie,	13½ „
„	7th, Allogoolie,	10 „
„	8th, Carinagamme,	16½ „
„	9th, Colombo,	21½ „

The troops did not actually march into their quarters till the 11th, under Colonel Baillie, 51st, General Macdowall having pushed on.

The sick list had been and continued to be very heavy. On the 6th a party of sick, which had left Kandy on the 1st April, arrived in Colombo; among these was Lieutenant and Adjutant Abraham

Robinson of the 51st, who died on the 7th, while of the 400 men of the Regiment who marched into quarters on the 11th with Colonel Baillie, "there was scarcely one of them who did not soon go into the hospital, and in less than three months 300 of them died."

The Medical Report for the month of April, 1803, on the troops serving in Ceylon states that "the very remarkable mortality in this corps (the 51st) may be attributed, in some degree, to the hard duty, privation of comforts, and the climate to which they were exposed in Kandy, but still more to the nature of the country through which they marched on their return to Colombo. . . The fever from which the troops from Kandy have suffered so dreadfully, as it has equalled in its ravages the yellow fever of the West Indies, has also in its symptoms closely resembled that exterminating malady. . . We have here also the same depression of spirits and strength, restlessness, anxiety, oppression, delirium, coma, distressing bilious and even black vomiting, and above all the same extreme yellowness of the skin and eyes which has given the name to the disease in the West Indies. . . Eighty-seven men of the 51st died this month."

At different periods during the month of May the Governor and General Macdowall made short tours in the country, the general again visiting Kandy, whence Colonel Barbutt had been sent to Colombo sick, dying of fever on the 21st. Macdowall found the garrison of Kandy greatly thinned by sickness; he and several of his staff were taken ill; and he returned to Colombo on the 19th June, having effected little or nothing towards the securing of a really permanent peace.

On the 26th June, 1803, the accounts to hand of the state of the garrison of Kandy causing considerable alarm, a small detachment of Ceylon Infantry under Ensign Smellie, 51st, was directed to proceed to Kandy with the least possible delay; but on arrival at the post of Dambadenia, on the 30th June, Smellie must have learnt of the surrender and massacre of the greater part of the garrison only a few days previously. Among those who lost their lives at Kandy were two of the 51st Regiment—Lieutenant Thomas Ormsby, acting Assistant Commissary for grain and provisions, and Sergeant, acting Ensign, Robert Stuart, officiating as Provost Marshal.

Smellie's small party provided a very welcome reinforcement for the garrison of Dambadenia. The post was only a small redoubt constructed of fascines and earth, and was held by fourteen convalescents of the 19th Foot and twenty-two invalids of the Malay Regiment under an Ensign Grant of that corps. They were already under blockade, had been repeatedly called upon to surrender, and were under constant fire, but had held out with great gallantry.

¹ Cordiner, "*Description of Ceylon.*" Vol. 2, p. 198.

Steps for relief were early taken by the authorities in Colombo, and on the 2nd July a reinforcement of 100 men under Captain Blackall of the 51st left headquarters to endeavour to bring off the two parties under Smellie and Grant.

The fifty-six and a half miles to Dambadenia were covered by Captain Blackall's force in three days' march; the stores were destroyed, the garrison evacuated, and Colombo regained with the loss of no more than two men of the 51st, one of whom was drowned and the other lost in the jungle.

At the same time another post, held mainly by men of the 19th Foot was also evacuated, the garrison effecting their retreat to Trincomalee, and the British now held no posts in the enemy's country; the frontier was threatened and our settlements invaded, while on the 15th August, intelligence reached Colombo of the renewal of the war with France.

From Colombo and from Point de Galle, where Major Logan, 51st, was now commandant, small parties were constantly sent out to attack the Kandians, who made no stand but invariably dispersed only to re-appear in some other part of the country. In one of these raids conducted by Captain Beaver of the 19th Regiment, Sergeant Aird, 51st, was wounded in two places.

In the despatch in which the Governor conveyed his appreciation to Captain Beaver of the success of his operations, it is also recorded that "H.E. is highly pleased with the firm, temperate and humane conduct of Captain James Short of the 51st Regiment at Bellingham," whither this officer had been detached to punish the rebellious and to restore order.

Many irruptions were now made by the Kandians into the district of Colombo, and on the 20th August a large body of the enemy took possession of the little fort of Hangwelle, twenty miles from the seat of Government, and advanced next day a further five miles nearer to Colombo, causing "alarm and despondency" among the European residents, and driving many of them from the cantonments and civil lines into the fort.

On the news of the capture of Hangwelle being received, Lieutenant Mercer of the 51st was ordered to march out with fifteen men of his own corps, the same number of the 65th and twenty-five Sepoys, to reinforce an advanced party of twenty-five Sepoys and fifty armed Levies stationed at Kadavilly on the Calany river, ten miles from Colombo and the same distance from Hangwelle, and with his combined party to attack the enemy. On the evening of the 21st he came up with an advanced body of the Kandians and dispersed them; next day he attacked and stormed an entrenchment they had made in a very strong position at a bridge near Hangwelle, drove the

enemy from it with great slaughter, capturing several guns and some forty prisoners. He then pushed on and occupied Hangwelle. On the same day Mercer was joined by Captain Hankey, 19th, who now took command, and by Lieutenant Worsley, R.A., with fifty-five Europeans and a gun. The force under Hankey, thus augmented, vigorously attacked the enemy, drove them out of British territory, and then moved back to Hangwelle where was left a garrison under Lieutenant Mercer, 51st, while Hankey returned with the rest of the troops to Colombo which was reached on the 29th August.

In the meantime, on the 23rd August, thirty Europeans under Lieutenant James Campbell, 51st, marched from Colombo towards Malwana to try and intercept a party of the enemy moving in that direction. Campbell was joined on the 25th by Captain Buchan of the Ceylon Infantry with a few Europeans, a mortar and 100 Sepoys; while on the same date Captain Blackall, 51st, had fallen back to his post at Negombo, whence he had sallied out to the assistance of the two small and hard-pressed posts of Chilaou and Putlam; the ammunition of the garrison of the former was exhausted and they were firing copper coins in lieu of grape-shot.

Three small bodies were now dispatched to the relief of Chilaou; one of twenty men under Lieutenant White of the 51st, marched from Colombo on the night of the 28th August; Captain Blackall of the same corps moved out on the same date from Negombo; while Captain Buchan marched on Chilaou from Hangwelle by a longer and more difficult march, which brought him to the scene of action too late, for White and Blackall reached the post on the 30th and 31st, dispersed the enemy, and destroyed the works they had thrown up.

In the meantime the garrison of Hangwelle under Lieutenant Mercer, 51st, had been constantly engaged with the Kandians; the fort was in so dilapidated a state that Mercer and his men sought a better refuge in a house enclosed by a slight wall, and here three separate assaults were attempted but the enemy was driven off with loss, though many of Mercer's men were wounded and he himself was very ill. On the morning of the 5th September, 1803, a small reinforcement was sent to Hangwelle from Colombo, and some hours later, Captain Pollock of the 51st, who had been ordered out to command the post, rode through, apparently unattended, and took command of Hangwelle and its small garrison of but little more than 100 men.

At 10 a.m. on the 6th, Hangwelle was heavily attacked by a large body of Kandians, commanded by the king of Kandy in person, and having guns from which they fired grape-shot. Mercer was sent out with a small body to "fetch a compass" through the jungle

and fall upon their left flank, while Captain Pollock sallied out with the rest of his garrison and attacked them in front, and fighting was continuous for two hours, "when the shot of a field piece reaching near to the station of the King, he retreated with precipitation and was followed by his whole army."

Of the British only two men were wounded, but of the enemy 270 dead were buried on the spot, while we captured eighty prisoners, a royal standard, retook three English guns and 120 of our fire-locks, and released many men of our native corps who had been captured and made to serve the enemy guns.

On the night of the 6th-7th September, a reinforcement of thirty-five men under Captain Hankey, 19th Foot, was sent up to Hangwelle: "these" we are told, "were all the men in Colombo capable of marching. Invalids and pensioners now performed the garrison duty; and it was not an unusual sight to see a sentinel with only one leg mounting guard. The Town-Major was the only officer left to preside over them."

On the 9th September, Captain Pollock moved out against the enemy and his operations may best be described in his own words:

"Avisavelle, 13th September, 1803.

"Sir,

"I have the honour to report for the information of Major-General Macdowall that I marched yesterday morning with the detachment under my command for Rowanella. I found the enemy posted at all the passes on the road and very strong batteries erected for their defence, from which they were driven with considerable slaughter; and I am happy to say with only the loss of one gun lascar, Tindal, wounded on our side. On arriving at Rowanella river, we found the opposite bank lined with batteries and several pieces of cannon, from which the enemy kept up a heavy fire of round and grape shot and a constant fire of musketry; not being sufficiently acquainted with the state of the river to attempt fording it immediately, the detachment was here obliged to halt a few minutes; when a ford was discovered, Captain Hankey and Lieutenant Mercer with the advance instantly pushed over, and Captain Buchan, with his detachment, appearing at this moment on the enemy's right flank, they fled in all directions.

"I have the honour to enclose a return of ordnance and stores captured upon this occasion, all of which I have brought off. I have much pleasure in reporting the good behaviour of the whole detachment, and the obligations I am under to Captain Buchan for the effectual support he afforded me, notwithstanding the great difficulties he had to encounter from the extreme badness of the road by which he advanced on the north bank of the Calany Ganga.

The two detachments took up their quarters for the night in the palace, and this morning, finding the enemy had retreated into the interior of their territory, I ordered the palace and village of Rowanelle to be burnt, which was completely done, and I returned here about eleven o'clock.

"I shall proceed to-morrow to Hangwelle and there await General Macdowall's further orders."

"To Captain R. Mowbray, Acting Deputy Adjutant General."

Among the ordnance and other stores captured were four guns, two mortars, fifty shells, 150 iron round shot, seventy hand grenades, some camp equipage and—an elephant!

The Governor was very appreciative of the good work done by Captain Pollock and Lieutenant Mercer, both of the 51st. Of the latter officer he published a General Order dated the 5th September, in which we read: "The Governor requests Lieutenant Mercer to accept his thanks for the great ability, firmness and intrepidity which he has displayed in the defence of Hangwelle. He regrets sincerely that the health of that officer has suffered by his successful and honorable exertions; and considers it of too much value to be endangered by a longer continuance in so arduous and fatiguing a command. H.E. has heard, with great pleasure, how ably and effectually Lieutenant Mercer has been seconded by Lieutenant McVeagh, of H.M.'s 77th Regiment, doing duty with the 51st, and all the officers of his detachment, and highly approves of the spirited and zealous conduct of the non-commissioned officers and privates."

The following General Order,¹ dated the 13th September, about the services of Captain Pollock, reads: "Captain William Pollock, of H.M.'s 51st Regiment, in command of a detachment from the garrison of Colombo, having by a rapid succession of brilliant and important victories driven the grand army of the Kandians, commanded by the King in person, out of the British territories, taken all their artillery and their royal standard, recovered from them many of the Malays and gun lascars who were made prisoners by treachery at Kandy, and finally seized the magazine and stores prepared by them at Rowanelle within their own limits, H.E. the Governor is unable to express in adequate terms his lively sense of the great services rendered to his government by that distinguished officer and the small but heroic detachment he commands. . . . H.E. further desires Captain Pollock to assure the non-commissioned officers and privates of his high approbation of their spirited and exemplary conduct."

Captain Pollock's Report and these two general orders are to be found in the "Asiatic Annual Register for 1803." pp. 51-53.

Small parties continued to be sent out in all directions to harry the enemy, to clear the invaded districts, and to restore confidence in British rule, but so short were the regiments of senior officers at this time that General Macdowall's own staff had to take command of some of these detachments. Thus on the 6th October, Captain Macpherson, Brigade Major, left Colombo in charge of a small force composed of Lieutenants Mercer and Keyt, four Sergeants and fifty other ranks of the 51st, seventy Malays, fifty Sepoys, and some men and lascars of the Bengal Artillery with two guns, and marched out to disperse a force of some strength collected at a place called Buddha Gedera with the intention of entering British territory. No opposition of a serious nature was met with, but on the 11th there was a good deal of "sniping" from the jungle, whereby one private of the 51st was wounded, and on the 16th the little force was back again in Colombo.

Another party went out in a different direction under Captain Mowbray, the Deputy Adjutant General; and on the 30th November, Lieutenant Maurice O'Connell, 51st, then commanding at Putlam, made an incursion into Kandian territory in his neighbourhood at the head of a body of native troops and laid waste a considerable extent of country; while in the middle of December, Captain Blackall, 51st, sallied out from Negombo and dispersed the enemy forces hovering about that post.

The wastage, however, from all these operations conducted in a bad climate and a very difficult country, against an enterprising and elusive enemy, had been very great and the loss in officers in the different regiments engaged had amounted, during 1803 and the early part of 1804, to twenty-four, nearly all of whom had died of disease, the result of hardship and exposure. The following were the casualties among the officers of the 51st Regiment, given in the order in which they occurred:—Surgeon Thomas Anthony Reeder, Lieutenant Patrick Campbell, Lieutenant Peter Campbell, Lieutenant and Adjutant Abraham Robinson, Lieutenant Alexander Moore, Lieutenant Henry Stamer, Lieutenant Dominic O'Donnell, and Lieutenant Maurice O'Connell.

There is astonishingly little of interest to chronicle about the last four years of the stay of the 51st in Ceylon. There was a certain amount of desultory fighting carried on by small parties of the greatly enfeebled regiments forming the British garrison of Colombo; but there is but small record of these minor operations.

At the end of 1803, Major-General Macdowall went home and in March, 1804, Major-General Wemyss arrived to succeed him; next year the governorship of Colombo changed hands, Sir Thomas Maitland in July, 1805, taking the place of Mr. North.

During the year 1804, the 51st Headquarters was probably still at Colombo, but the Regiment furnished detachments at various times at the following places: Matura, Chilaou, 1804 Negombo, Hangwelle, Nambipane, Aripo, Putlam, and Point de Galle.

There is a "General Return" for the month of January, 1805, of the troops serving in Ceylon, which gives the following "state" of the 51st.

Present: one Major, two Captains, eight Lieutenants, two Ensigns, one Quartermaster, one Surgeon, two Assistant Surgeons, forty Sergeants, twenty-two Drummers and Fifers, and 422 Rank and File—Total 501.

Sick: one Captain, two Lieutenants, three Sergeants and sixty Rank and File—Total sixty-six.

Absent: one Colonel, one Lieut.-Colonel, one Major, four Captains, five Lieutenants, three Ensigns, one Paymaster, one Assistant Surgeon, one Sergeant and 148 Rank and File—Total 166.

On Staff Duty: one Captain, eight Sergeants—Total nine.

Wanting to Complete: sixteen commissioned officers, ten Sergeants, 560 Rank and File—Total 586.

In February, 1805, the Kandians, after hovering a long time on our frontier, at last entered British territory, when many small parties of troops took the offensive against them. One of these which entered the field against the enemy on the 15th February, was commanded by Captain Blackall, 51st, "who left Negombo with thirty Europeans and fifty Natives, and being joined by the cavalry and fifty native infantry at Moorgorampilly passed the Kaymelle at Giriooly; and detaching Lieutenant Parker to the north-west with one-half of the detachment, marched to the eastward with the intention of attacking the headquarters of the Kandians at Gallamowa in the Four Corles. He met with some resistance at Belligalle, but having overcome it, heard that the enemy had fled in all directions; and having destroyed their magazines returned to Moorgorampilly and thence to Negombo, with no casualties but two coolies wounded and two horses killed."

The following extracts from a letter or despatch¹ from Major-General Wemyss give some idea of further operations in which some of the 51st took part; it is dated Colombo, 10th March, 1805.

" . . . In consequence of the whole of our frontier having been very seriously menaced by the Kandians, and not having the means of reinforcing all the posts, I judged that a feint upon Kandy would be the most effectual means of relieving the frontier, and in consequence sent a detachment of 300 men, fifty of which were Europeans,

¹ " *Asiatic Annual Register*, 1805, p. 99."

² *Colonial Office*, 54/17.

under the command of Major Dunkin, of H.M.'s 51st Regiment to Sittewak, where I joined it on the 25th ult., and proceeded the following night to Rowanella on the great Kandy road, passing a very difficult country and four strong batteries which were carried without a casualty on our part. . . . Hearing at this place that a party of the enemy had taken post at about ten miles distance, I detached Major Dunkin with fifty men to endeavour to cut them off in the night, and that officer by a very judicious conduct succeeded in his enterprize, that party, about thirty in number, having fallen by the bayonet. . . . This feint had the desired effect of causing the whole of the invading enemy to retire from our frontier and concentrate at Bellona, which was followed by the return of Major Dunkin's detachment to this place."

It does not appear that after this date the 51st was seriously employed in further operations; the officers and men of the Regiment had now endured nearly three years' warfare in a bad climate, they had suffered much from the service, and no doubt the military authorities considered that the reinforcements which had reached Ceylon might well now relieve the 51st in the field; two companies of the 65th arrived in November, 1802, remaining until 1805, while the whole of the 66th Foot was sent to Ceylon in July, 1804.

The Records of the 19th Foot state that "on the departure of the 51st Foot from Ceylon in January, 1807, the 19th received from it an augmentation of 300 men"¹; volunteers from the 51st also transferred to the 22nd Regiment, then quartered at Muttra in India. The 51st seems to have proceeded home in small parties as passage could be provided, but although the greater part of the Regiment appears to have left Ceylon by the end of March, 1807, a few details were still remaining awaiting transport very much later in the year; thus we read in a letter dated "Jaffna, September 3rd, 1807"² from Sir Thomas Maitland, the Governor, that "in the uncertainty of securing a passage in the October fleet, and under the circumstances in which the *Lincoln*, Ordnance Store Ship, George Simpson, Master, has been placed by her arrival in this country, have resolved to send in her to the Cape of Good Hope the remains of H.M.'s 51st Regiment, and the Invalids of H.M.'s 66th, now at Trincomalee amounting as per the enclosed Return to sixty-seven including women and children. . . . Payment for the passage of one Major, one Assistant Surgeon, eight Sergeants, four Drummers, forty Rank and File, eight Women and seven Children of the 51st and 66th proceeding to the Cape."

¹ "Historical Record of the Green Howards," p. 155.

² Colonial Office, 54/30.

The 51st reached home on the 12th and 14th September, 1807, and so far as can be determined the Headquarters arrived first in the Indiaman *Asia* at Gravesend, the remainder on the 14th in the Indiaman *Harwich* at Blackwall. The first party was directed on disembarkation to march to Chatham, the second to Chichester where it was due to arrive on the 20th, but on the 19th September, the companies at Chatham were ordered to proceed to join the others at Chichester, reaching that place on the 25th; and here so much of the 51st Regiment as had again arrived in England after an absence on foreign service of nearly sixteen years, was now at last and for a short time united.

CORUNNA AND WALCHEREN

1808 and 1809

XI

IN anticipation no doubt of the arrival of the weakened regiment in England, every effort seems to have been made to obtain as many men as possible for the 51st from the Militia of its own and other counties. During the years 1807 to 1810 the 3rd West York Militia,¹ commanded by Colonel Bryan Cooke, supplied eighty volunteers to the 51st, *viz.*, thirty-four in 1807, thirty-nine in 1808 and seven in 1809. The Bounty fixed by the Act of 13th August, 1809, for each militiaman who volunteered for the Line was fourteen guineas for unlimited service and seven guineas for seven years' service.

As early as 1805 orders had been issued carefully defining the recruiting limits of the 51st Regiment. There is extant a letter from an official at the War Office, dated 18th April, 1805,² which reads: "I find upon reference to the general arrangements that in the appropriation of regular to militia regiments the 51st has been allotted to receive Volunteers specially from the counties of Cornwall, Denbigh, Devon, the South Essex Regiment, the Hereford, West Norfolk, Westmorland, and from the 2nd and 3rd West York Regiments, the latter in consideration of the Title of the Regiment."

The "Marching Order Books" for the year 1807 contain many entries regarding the movements of parties of Militia Volunteers joining the 51st, many of them from the north of England: thus under date of the 5th September, there is an order for "the Militia Volunteers to march by enclosed route to Chichester Barracks from Durham"; on the 14th "the Militia Volunteers from Truro" are directed to join the 51st at Chichester; on the 18th orders are issued to a similar party from Brabourne Lees; on the 22nd another from Bridport; another on the 24th from Beverley; another, this time from the Irish Militia, on the 26th; and finally on the 2nd October there are orders regarding a second party from Beverley.

¹ *The 3rd West York Militia, which was made Light Infantry in 1852, is now the 3rd Battalion York and Lancaster Regiment with its headquarters at Pontefract Barracks, which it shares with the 3rd Battalion King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry—formerly the 1st West York Militia Rifles—and the 51st and 65th Regimental Depots.*

Lieutenant Robert Shaw, of the 3rd West York Militia, was gazetted to an ensigncy in the 51st Foot under date of the 25th August, 1807.

² W.O. 3/39.

Chichester was not to be for long the station of the Regiment, for under orders dated the 29th December, it was ordered to march on the 2nd January, 1808, to Silverhill; here, however, the 51st remained but very little more than a month when, on the 10th February, it moved again in two divisions to Gosport where it was timed to arrive, the first division on the 16th and the second on the 17th; the route was *via* Hailsham, Lewis Cliff, Shoreham, Arundel and Chichester. The "Marching Order" says that the 51st is to be quartered in Gosport Barracks, but as a matter of fact it seems to have been accommodated during March, April and part of May, 1808, at Haslar, where on the 23rd April it was inspected by Brigadier-General George Porter, who remarked: "This Regiment is composed of Volunteers from the Militia, raw recruits with a few old soldiers—requires drilling. . . I can only generally observe that this Regiment in its present state is not fit for immediate service." The "State" shows as *Present*: one Lieut.-Colonel, one Major, seven Captains, eleven Lieutenants, six Ensigns, one Paymaster, one Adjutant, one Quartermaster, one Surgeon, two Assistant Surgeons, eighteen Sergeants, twenty Corporals, fourteen Drummers and 522 Privates.

There were *sick in quarters*: one Captain, two Sergeants and twenty-eight Privates, invalids, of whom four were for discharge and the rest for transfer; and *sick in hospital*, three Corporals, one Drummer and twenty-four Privates.

There were *On Leave*: one Colonel, one Lieut.-Colonel, one Major, three Captains, six Lieutenants, eight Ensigns, sixteen Sergeants, twelve Corporals, seven Drummers and fifty-five Privates.

The Regiment seems at this time to have been one Captain, seven Lieutenants, six Ensigns, twelve Sergeants, five Corporals and thirty-nine Privates *in excess* of its establishment.

The Return shows Lieut.-Colonel Mainwaring as being in command, so the Lieut.-Colonel "on leave" must have been Lieut.-Colonel Darling.

Some time in May of this year there was a fresh move, the Regiment proceeding to Guernsey where it was quartered at L'Ancrese Camp. No doubt it was while here that orders were received warning the 51st for active service, and about the middle of July it was brought back to England again to take part in the overseas expedition which had been arranged, consequent upon the operations recently conducted with the object of freeing Spain and Portugal from the Napoleonic yoke.

But the British Army was to enter upon this new campaign released from an ancient regulation, which irksome enough in peace must

have long been felt to be wholly unsuited to times of war. On the 20th July, 1808, the following General Order was issued from the Horse Guards :—

"The Commander-in-Chief directs it to be notified that in consequence of the state of preparation for immediate Service in which the whole Army is at the present moment to be held, His Majesty has been graciously pleased to dispense with the use of Queues until further orders."

"His Royal Highness desires the Commanding Officers of Regiments will take care that the men's hair is cut close in their necks in the neatest and most uniform manner, and that their Heads are kept perfectly clean by combing, brushing and frequently washing them; for the latter essential purpose it is His Majesty's pleasure that a small sponge shall hereafter be added to each Man's Regimental Necessaries."

"By Order of His Royal Highness,

"the Commander-in-Chief, Harry Calvert, A.G."

(Three days later letters were addressed to General Lord Heathfield and the O.C. Royal Regiment of Horse Guards, stating that this Order did not apply to H.M.'s Life Guards or Royal Regiment of Horse Guards).

The Campaign of Vimiera was over, the agreement known as the Convention of Cintra had been signed, Portugal was freed from the enemy, and its harbours secured as bases for future operations. The three generals who in turn had exercised command in Portugal—Sir Hew Dalrymple, Sir Harry Burrard, and Sir Arthur Wellesley—had all returned to England, and Sir John Moore, who had reached Lisbon during the conclusion of the Convention, remained in command of the British army in Portugal—an army which, including the force assembling at Cork and Falmouth for passage to Corunna, was to comprise some 40,000 men. Sir John Moore's natural exultation at the news of his good fortune finds expression in his diary, wherein, under date of October 14th, he wrote: "There has been no such command since Marlborough for a British officer."

Within a few days of the date of this entry Napoleon had decided that the conduct of the operations in the Peninsula could no longer be left to any of his subordinates, and on October 30th, 1808, he left Paris to take command of the army of 250,000 men now gathering behind the River Ebro.

The British government having achieved by means of Wellesley's victories the expulsion of the French from Portugal, had now further considered the question of where and in what manner their augmented army could most profitably be employed; and finally, on September 25th, it had been decided that the British now in or on the point of proceeding to Portugal should act in co-operation with the Spanish forces in the north of Spain; and it was left to Sir John

Moore either to embark his troops and proceed to Corunna by sea, or to march them by land from Lisbon to Valladolid, where the junction of all his forces seemed likely best to be effected. He decided to move by land for the reasons given in his diary, *vis.* "the passage by sea is precarious, an embarkation unhinges, and when I get to Corunna I should still have to equip the army before I could stir, and in Galicia it might have been impossible to have found sufficient means of carriage."

On October 11th, Moore's leading regiments left Lisbon, the force marching by four different roads, and, having seen the greater part of his troops out of the capital, Moore himself started from that city on October 27th, leaving behind him a division of some 9,000 men under Sir John Cradock.

In the meantime the home authorities had been busied in the preparation of the force to be sent from England to join Moore, and which was to consist of nearly 14,000 of all ranks. The commander designate of this reinforcement—Sir David Baird, had but lately returned from the expedition to Copenhagen, and had since been in charge of a camp of instruction at the Curragh; while here he was directed to take command of the force which was collecting at Cork and Falmouth. The following regiments were detailed to form part: the 7th, 10th and 15th Hussars, three Field Batteries, the 1st and 3rd Battalions 1st Guards, 3rd Battalion 1st Foot, 2nd Battalion 14th Foot, 2nd Battalion 23rd Fusiliers, 1st Battalion 26th Foot, 3rd Battalion 27th Foot, 2nd Battalion 31st Foot, 1st Battalion 43rd Foot, 51st Foot, 2nd Battalion 59th Foot, 2nd Battalion 60th Rifles, 76th Foot, 2nd Battalion 81st Foot, five Companies 1st Battalion and six Companies 2nd Battalion 95th Rifles.

The 51st Regiment embarked at Portsmouth in three transports to proceed to Falmouth where Sir David Baird had arranged to assemble all his troops. We read in the *Hampshire Telegraph* under date of the 30th July, 1808: "The 51st Regiment, Colonel Mainwaring, which embarked for foreign service this morning, disembarked owing to orders. But they had not been on shore a few minutes when an order was received, much to their joy, to embark again, which they did instantly, shouting as they left the parade at the prospect of being employed to beat the enemies of old England."

The cause of this sudden change of programme is to be found in two orders¹ addressed, on the 30th July and 1st August respectively, to Major-General Wheetham, commanding at Portsmouth; in the first of these the 51st Regiment was directed to march on the 1st August to Chichester Barracks, and in the second it was ordered "to march from Chichester Barracks to Portsmouth and embark

¹ W.O. 5/86.

at such time as vessels are in readiness for its reception." The 51st then returned to and remained for many long weeks on board the transports, despite a further order which appears to have been issued on the 1st September "to cause the 51st Foot to disembark and march to Chichester Barracks and there remain." In due course the transports proceeded to Falmouth where Sir David Baird was gradually getting his division together, but waiting more particularly for the artillery horses for his field batteries without which he refused to start, although repeatedly urged by the authorities not to delay for what these seemed to regard as luxuries rather than as necessities.

The "Monthly Return" for the 1st September is dated from Spithead, that for the 1st October from Falmouth Harbour, and that of the later date contains the following information: it is signed by Lieut.-Colonel Darling who had evidently just rejoined, since in the preceding return he appears as employed on the staff as an Assistant Adjutant General. The strength of the 51st is given as two Lieut.-Colonels, two Majors, ten Captains, twelve Lieutenants, eleven Ensigns, one Paymaster, one Adjutant, one Quartermaster, one Surgeon, two Assistant Surgeons, thirty-seven Sergeants, twenty-one Drummers, 605 Privates, with fifteen sick on board and nineteen in hospital. The following officers were present and, except Ensign Rogers, presumably sailed with the Regiment: Lieut.-Colonels Darling and Mainwaring, Majors Dunkin and Blackall; Captains Rice, Sparkes, Mercer (Grenadiers), Keyt (Light Company), Campbell, Bloomfield, Shanley, Thwaites, Kelly; Lieutenants Phelps, Fullerton, Storer, John Campbell, James Ross, Honey, Isherwood, John Ross, Beardsley, Drew, Barker and Frederick; Ensigns Bayly, Percy, Walker, Hawley, Cox, Brook, Minchin, Rogers, Hare, Hicks and Stephens; Paymaster Pollock, Lieut. and Adjutant Jennings, Quartermaster James Ross, Surgeon Webster, Assistant Surgeons Johnston and Reid.

The following officers were absent on recruiting duty: Lieutenants Smellie, McCabe, Hickie and Blake; Ensigns Shaw, Mahon and Hamilton, with seven Sergeants, four Corporals and four Privates. Lieutenant Bower was absent on leave and Captain Roberts was employed on the Staff as a brigade-major, and was actually appointed to the brigade containing the 51st.

The transports taking the guns and the infantry of Baird's force left Falmouth on October 8th, and, the wind being favourable, reached Corunna on the 13th; but the three cavalry regiments, the arm in which Moore was weakest, did not complete their embarkation until the end of the month, arriving at their destination on the 8th November. But the arrival at their port of General Sir David

THE HISTORY OF THE K.O.Y.L.L.

Baird's troops did not at once lead to their immediate disembarkation, since the local Junta did not consider itself authorized to permit the British force to land without the sanction of the Supreme Government at Madrid; further, the authorities on the spot declined to meet Baird's needs in transport and supplies except on payment in ready money, and Baird had been sent to Spain without a treasure chest. Many and prolonged negotiations took place, and it was the 22nd October before permission to land his troops was received by Sir David Baird from the Supreme Junta, and the 28th before the leading portion of his force marched out of Corunna on the road to Astorga under Brigadier-General Craufurd. By the 3rd November, the whole of the infantry was in movement, one battalion—the 2nd Battalion 60th—remaining in garrison at Corunna.

There is some little difficulty in arriving at the correct brigading of Baird's force. The two great historians of the Peninsular War—

NOTE.—Since the above was written I have found the following in a cutting from a newspaper of the period and give it for what it may be worth. It will be seen that some of the totals do not agree. H.W.

“ The following is a detail of the forces composing the Expedition which sailed from Falmouth, under the command of Sir David Baird, October 3rd (sic), 1808.						
General Officers		Regiments.		Effective	Strength of	
Commanding Brigades.				R. & F.	each Bde.	
Major-General Warde	...	{	1st Btn, 1st Guards...	1353	...	2466
			3rd „ „	1113		
			2nd Btn. 14th „	625		
Major-General Manningham	...	{	1st „ 26th	866	...	3098
			3rd „ 27th	810		
			2nd „ 31st	797		
			51st	620		
Major-General Mackenzie		{	2nd Btn. 59th	640	...	2042
			76th	782		
			3rd Btn. 1st	698		
Brig.-General Slade	...	{	2nd „ 23rd	592	...	2007
			2nd „ 81st	722		
			1st „ 43rd	912		
Colonel Craufurd...	...	{	1st „ 95th	367	...	1674
			2nd „ 95th	405		
				11297		
						Horses.
Detachments ...	{	Royal Artillery ...	...	805	...	700
		Royal Waggon Train ...	...	208	...	150
		Staff Corps ...	...	46		
		9th Foot ...	...	11		
		52nd Foot ...	...	46		
				12413	850	

The above total is exclusive of Officers, Staff and Non-Commissioned Officers. The Brigade allotted to General Slade has since been put under the orders of General Manningham, the former having been ordered to Portsmouth to take the command of the Cavalry embarking there."

Oman and Fortescue—in giving what they describe as “the original brigading” show the 51st as composing, with the 2nd Battalion 59th and 76th Regiments, the 3rd Brigade under Major-General Leith. It is questionable whether there were at first only two other regiments in the brigade in which was the 51st, while it is quite certain that Major-General Leith was not the “original” brigadier. In a letter¹ written to the military authorities by Sir David Baird just before leaving Falmouth, he asks that accommodation may be provided for his general officers, mentioning them by name—Major-Generals Warde, Manningham and Mackenzie and Brigadier-General Craufurd. Major-General Leith is nowhere mentioned in Baird’s correspondence of this date, and as a matter of fact he had already left England for Spain on the 17th August, 1808,² being one of the British officers sent to the northern province to report on the resources of the country.

It seems likely that the brigading of Baird’s force was as given in Hamilton,³ and which is as follows :

- 1st Brigade under Warde, 1st and 3rd Battalions 1st Guards.
- 2nd ” ” Manningham, 1st, 26th, 27th and 31st Regiments.
- 3rd ” ” Mackenzie, 51st, 59th, 60th, 76th and 81st Regiments.
- Light ” ” Craufurd, 14th, 23rd, 43rd and two Battalions 95th Regiments.

On arrival at Corunna several changes were made ; as already stated, the 60th was left to garrison Corunna, while in accordance with orders, contained in a letter of the 22nd October from Sir John Moore to General Baird, the 27th and 31st Regiments were sent down to Lisbon to take the place of two regiments drawn by Moore from the garrison of the capital. In the same letter Baird was directed to “send with them Major-General Mackenzie.” This left Manningham’s brigade with but two battalions and the third brigade with four regiments but no brigadier ; as a result the 2nd Battalion 81st was now transferred to the second brigade, but the 81st only reached Corunna on the 7th November, having apparently been embarked on transports which had unfortunately taken the ground on leaving Falmouth.

The brigade containing the 51st seems to have started last from Corunna, but followed the route to Lugo taken by the corps which had marched earlier. This route was not the most direct, for it led by Corral and Ordinez to Santiago and not *via* Betanzos which would

¹ W.O. 1/237.

² “*A narrative of the Peninsular War*” by Sir Andrew Leith Hay. p. 3.

³ “*History of the Grenadier Guards.*” Vol. 2, p. 380.

have been the shorter road. Hare, then an ensign, states that he was ordered to go on in advance of the Regiment "to take up quarters for the Regiment at a large and handsome town some two days' march off called St. Jago de Campostella"; (evidently Santiago is meant) " . . . most of the officers had billets at the large monastery and the monks made as much accommodation for us as possible. . . St. Jago had every appearance of an old Moorish town in the style of its buildings and streets. There were some very grand mansions with all the lower or ground floor windows enclosed in large and heavy iron bars, the interior on that floor being stables or wood stores."

There are only two "monthly returns" for the three regiments of the Third Brigade during the Corunna campaign; one is for the 51st and the other for the 76th and they are both dated "Santiago, 1st November, 1808," making it clear that the brigade was on that date in or near this town where, according to Hare, it remained three days. The Return for the 51st is of interest; it is signed by Lieut.-Colonel Darling, and Colonel Mainwaring and Captain Rice are shown as remaining at Corunna in charge of sick, Lieutenant Bower appears as being "in possession of the Civil Power, England," and Ensign Rogers is shown as on leave from the 6th October, 1808, to the 6th January, 1809. The number of privates was on this date only 549 with eighty-six in hospital, and one man had died and three deserted since the last return was rendered. There is a note added to the effect that two Volunteers were attached to the Regiment, but their names are not given.

To continue Hare's reminiscences; he says that from Santiago "we marched to Lugo, a large city with a cathedral and a large square. We halted for a couple of days here. . . From thence our route lay on the high road broad and fine to Villafranca. This was a large town on high ground, the river running at its feet. There was an enormous monastery on the summit of a mountain near this which we kept in view for miles." Hare then goes on to describe the onward march to Astorga where he says "we halted and refreshed for three or four days," finally narrating the move on to and arrival at Mayorga. It is to be feared that Hare's memory has here played him false, for it seems nearly certain that the brigade containing the 51st never reached Mayorga at all and probably did not get further east than Villafranca.

It is clear from the Records of the 76th¹ that when the head of Baird's column reached Astorga on the 22nd November, the rear of

¹ "Historical Record of the 76th Hindoostan Regiment," by Lieut.-Colonel Hayden. p. 67.

it was at Lugo, fifteen days' march behind, and that the 76th at any rate never proceeded beyond Villafranca.

Sir David Baird, pushing on in advance of his force, reached Astorga on the 19th November, and on the arrival of his first three infantry brigades he appears to have divided his force into two divisions,¹ placing Warde in command of one and Manningham of the other; but almost immediately on arrival here he received information which not only checked his further advance, but even caused him to retrace his steps on the road his troops had just covered. Already before reaching Astorga Baird had heard that all was not well with our Spanish allies, and on arrival he would have learnt of Blake's reverse at Zornosa, of the rout of Belvedere at Gamonal, of Blake's further defeat at Espinosa, and of the crushing of Cústanos; he must too have heard that the French were already in Valladolid with their cavalry at Benevente on the road to Salamanca, where Moore had arrived on the 13th, and within a very few days Moore was warning Baird to prepare for retreat.

On the 23rd November, all Moore's infantry had joined him, but any junction with Baird seemed impossible should the French continue to advance. On the 28th news of further Spanish reverses reached Moore and he decided that he would now himself retreat on Lisbon, while he directed Baird to fall back at once on Corunna, re-embark his troops and bring them round to the Tagus. This order was delivered to Baird during the night of the 29th—30th November, and he at once issued the necessary instructions; but later, consequent on an appeal from Romanos, the Spanish commander, he endeavoured to halt his troops on their rearward march pending any fresh instructions which might reach him from Sir John Moore. The wisdom of this decision speedily became apparent, for on the 4th December the situation had so far improved that Moore cancelled the orders for retreat, and on the 6th and 8th December he ordered Baird to send his cavalry at once to Zamora and move the rest of his force to Benevente.

Baird's orders directing his retreating columns to halt do not seem to have reached the 51st, 59th and 76th Regiments, which continued their retreat to within one day's march of Santiago;² an officer of the 15th Hussars, pushing on to join his regiment, mentions³ that on the 1st December, at Nogales, he "dined with Major Blackall of the 51st Regiment and three or four infantry officers who were stationed here in charge of ammunition and stores." On the 2nd, marching from Nogales to Trabadelos, he mentions that he "met the 76th Regiment which formed the advanced guard of our

¹ "Hamilton." Vol. 2. p. 384. ² "Hayden." p. 67.

³ "A Cavalry Officer in the Corunna Campaign." p. 52 and 53.

retreating army ;" and records that later, on the evening of his arrival at Trabadelos, "the 51st and 59th Regiments passed through the village soon after we had taken up our quarters."

The order countermanding the retreat and directing the resumption of the advance, does not appear to have reached the Third Brigade until the 12th December at Santiago. The column started the same day and covered the distance to Lugo—seventy-six miles—in forty-eight hours, marching night and day. The historian of the 76th records that "some men lost their way in the dark and were well treated by the inhabitants of the country, by whom they were conducted safely into Portugal, and having been formed with others similarly situated into a battalion of detachments the following year, did good service at Oporto and Talavera."

By this time the Third Brigade was no longer brigadier-less. In the last week of November, Major-General Leith had received orders while at Leon to join the British army and on arrival had assumed command of the Second Brigade then at Villafranca—its actual commander, Manningham, was then, it will be remembered, commanding a division. But after the junction of Baird's force with that of Moore at Mayorga on the 20th December, Manningham returned to his old brigade while Leith took command of that containing the 51st, 59th and 76th, which was then transferred to the division led by Sir John Hope.

From Lugo the brigade advanced again and reached Villafranca for the second time, and this appears to have been the limit of its advance, though Colonel Hayden states that the flank companies were pushed on as far as Benevente.

On the 22nd Moore was at Sahagun, intending to move forward the next evening for the purpose of attacking the French under Soult at Saldanha, where he was weak and isolated, and open to attack and possible rout before he could be supported. The British troops were actually parading in high spirits for the advance, when news reached Moore that the enemy was on the march northward from Madrid and that Napoleon himself was well on his way to Benevente. The orders for the forward movement of the British force were now at once cancelled, and arrangements for retreat made; the retrograde movement began on the 24th December, the infantry falling back by Valencia and Valderas, and by the 30th the main body was concentrated at Astorga.

Leith's brigade appears to have remained at Villafranca until the main army closed up to that place in its retreat, probably 1809 arriving there on the 1st or 2nd January, 1809. Leith's brigade would seem to have left at the head of the columns, finally reaching Lugo—a distance of forty-eight miles—on

the 5th. Here Moore took up a position and offered battle to his pursuers. His position was a very strong one; "his right rested on the Minho which was unfordable; his front was covered by a ravine and by innumerable enclosures which might serve as natural entrenchments; and only his left, which leaned on rugged mountains, could be turned."¹

The following account is taken from the recollections of the campaign of one who was A.D.C. to General Leith, and thus in a good position to observe all that transpired. "On the evening of the 6th," he writes,² "General Hope's Division marched in advance of Lugo, and bivouacked on a position where the whole army was to be concentrated on the following day. The troops were permitted to take up their ground without any annoyance from the enemy. The position occupied by the British was much elevated, and exposed to a piercing north-west wind. Rain fell without intermission; the ground, covered with underwood, was wetted to a degree; neither hut nor tent to shelter from the elements; the only heat to be procured was flitting, comfortless and uncertain; the glimmering, pale, expiring fires of the enemy were alone seen at intervals, proving the slight chance we had of producing a brighter blaze; the wet broom emitted dense clouds of smoke that loaded the atmosphere, and almost appeared to give weight and substance to the falling rain. Such was the situation of all ranks in the bivouac at Lugo! Morning dawned; the rain became less violent. The men, suffering from the effects of cold and wet, were without bread, with difficulty preparing some flour and water to appease their craving appetites. Everything was dreary and comfortless, except the presence of the enemy. There was excitement in that, and not a murmur of complaint was heard.

"In the position above mentioned General Hope's division occupied the left, having General Hill's brigade on its right, General C. Craufurd's in the centre, and General Leith's on the extreme left of the British line.³ The rest of the army extended to the right where it was protected by the river Minho. Early on the morning of the 7th the enemy showed a large force of cavalry; apparently arriving from the rear in very extended order, they moved to the left of the French position. It was evident the number of troops directly in front had been greatly increased. Cannon were brought to the verge of the ravine which separated the two armies; but as the southern side did not dominate the British position, there was

¹ *Fortescue*, "History of the British Army." Vol. 6. p. 371.

² *Leith Hay*. pp. 78-80.

³ In Napier's "History," Vol. 2. p. 482, 1828 Edition, he writes of Moore's left wing at Lugo—"in which he had posted the flower of his troops."

little risk of much impression being made, and the British artillery were immediately placed to silence them. Discharges of cannon were heard at intervals. The light troops skirmished in the ravine, but no serious attack had yet been made; about noon the fire towards our left became more serious, and it was evident a reconnaissance of some importance was meditated. Five pieces of cannon opened upon General Leith's brigade; a column of infantry at the same moment passed the ravine, drove in the outposts, following them rapidly up a road leading directly to the centre of our position. The light companies were thrown out in front, and the regiments stood to their arms. The soldiers, engaged on the slope of the ravine in extended order, were soon forced back, retiring in some confusion. That the attack was not to be repulsed by the fire of sharpshooters alone was evident; the light companies were consequently assembled, met the enemy when near the summit, poured in one discharge, and, rushing forward with the bayonet, drove all before them." (It must have been at this period of the action that historians and biographers tell us Sir John Moore rode up to the 51st and addressed them in glowing words, and animated all ranks by reminding them of the days when he had the honour to command them; unfortunately the words of this great soldier have not come down to us.) "The road or lane up which the French attacked was flanked by walls and overhung with trees, being also so narrow as to occasion considerable confusion in the *mêlée* which took place. Filled with smoke from the incessant and vivid fire of the parties, it was almost impossible to distinguish friend from foe, but our people cheered, and, rushing forward, occasioned great loss to the enemy. Major Roberts was wounded and compelled to retire."

The Major Roberts here referred to was Captain David Roberts of the 51st Regiment, then officiating as Brigade-Major of General Leith's brigade, and of this particular incident it is elsewhere¹ recorded that: "Brigade-Major Roberts having placed himself voluntarily in the front rank, attacked and killed with his sword a French officer; but his outstretched hand was at the instant shot through in two places by two French soldiers. Then before one of these could recover his musket he was transfixed by the bayonet of an Irish soldier named Connor², who bayoneted also two other Frenchmen and his prowess was rewarded by promotion."

The French made that day no further effort; the weather continued very inclement, and darkness came on accompanied by a storm rivalling that of the previous night. On the morning of the 8th the troops again took up their former positions, and the left, the

¹ Moore's "*Life of Sir John Moore.*" Vol. 2. p. 208.

² *Of the 76th Regiment.*

most vulnerable part of the position, was again visited by Sir John Moore; but Soult showed no anxiety to renew the action for which the British were ready and eager. "I can never," says Leith Hay, "look back to the scenes in front of Lugo without a feeling of regret that the battle was not there fought, nor ever bring to recollection the gallant bearing of the troops, under all their miseries, without admiration of the spirit that appeared to animate them, and must have led to certain victory."

Moore, however, resolved to continue the retreat and, leaving the camp fires burning to deceive the enemy, the position was abandoned at ten on the night of the 8th, and the march to Betanzos was resumed. "It was excessively dark," so Hay tells us, "the wind blew loud and hail showers superseded the preceding rains. The track by which General Leith's brigade marched was of the roughest and worst description, as may be conjectured by the fact that untired men took five hours in travelling as many miles, namely the distance from the position to the city of Lugo."

There was no halt here, and even when the column reached the villages of Gutoriez and Valmeda these were found already overcrowded with the advanced troops, and the battalions of Leith's brigade "were marched off the road and halted in some fields to its right, without even a tree to defend them from the blast, the ground streaming with water, the rain and sleet descending in torrents. To men worn down with fatigue, hunger¹ and want of sleep this short rest afforded slight comfort. When the order arrived to stand to their arms and set forward, they rose unrefreshed, footsore, weak and depressed. A second night's march completed the disorganization; the whole road presented a mass, not of battalions, but one continuous line of stragglers mixed in confusion, without reference to regiments, brigade or division, pressing forward to the best of their physical ability, but having lost sight of their officers and their Colours."

Hare of the 51st writes in his "Personal Narrative" that "soon after leaving Lugo enquiries were made among the officers for two of their number who had not been seen or heard of for two or three days. The only intelligence of one—Lieutenant Drew, of St. Columbia, Cornwall—was that he had been seen on the line of march in a waggon belonging to the Royal Waggon Train with two other sick officers. The other, also a Cornish man—Honey—I myself had seen in a roadside hovel, a Sergeant's wife, Sally Northy, attending him as he was very ill at the time. She afterwards reported that she was obliged to leave him as the enemy's cavalry were in sight."

¹ Hare says that the last ration issue was at Lugo "on the night we took up the position."

Betanzos was reached on the morning of the 10th and the halt here permitted of the stragglers rejoining and of all ranks "pulling themselves together"; and when the army marched thence on the 11th the units composing it were again strong and effective, orderly in appearance, "and perfectly unlike what could have been expected to reform from the *débris* of an army, which but the preceding day had exhibited an alarming state of demoralization and exhaustion."¹

The real hardships of the retreat ended at Betanzos; on the 11th the weather changed for the better, the sun shone; and on the 12th when the troops marched into Corunna the men remaining with the Colours had regained their strength and spirits. General Hope's division, containing Leith's brigade, was at first marched to the suburb of St. Lucia on the western shore of the harbour of Corunna, but after dark on the same evening the division moved to a position two miles in front of the Betanzos road. The enemy's camp fires were visible on the high ground on the further side of the river Mero, but the night passed quietly.

Hope's division was on the extreme left of the position taken up; on the highest part of the ground, through which ran the road from El Burgo, was Hill's brigade; on his right was Leith's; and a short distance to the rear, prolonging the line to the left, was the brigade under Catlin Craufurd; the advanced troops were in the valley in front extending to the village of Palavio Abaxo.

When, on the morning of the 13th, an enormous quantity of gunpowder was exploded to prevent it falling into the hands of the French, a sergeant of the 51st and two other men belonging to the picquets of Leith's brigade were killed at a considerable distance from the magazine. On the forenoon of this day, Baird's division marched into position, Manningham's Brigade forming on the right of Leith's and the remainder prolonging the line to the right.

By the 14th the bridge of El Burgo, which our engineers had destroyed, was sufficiently repaired to permit of the passage of the French, and Soult pushed cavalry and infantry across it. On the 15th he ascended the range of hills directly above the right branch of the Mero, advanced some guns to the neighbourhood of the village of Palavio Abaxo, and his men were soon after engaged with our picquets. It was evident that the British embarkation was not to be unimpeded, though on the 14th much had been done in sending the sick, the dismounted cavalry, and the *impedimenta* on board the transports which had that day arrived in port.

It was two p.m. on the 16th when the French began seriously to advance against the British position, descending into the valley and menacing the centre and left, while making a real attack upon the

¹ *Leith Hay*. p. 83.

right, the weakest point of the whole front. It was not until later that any part of Leith's brigade was engaged, and Hare describes how the 51st having been formed up about thirty yards "in advance of where our cooking fires were and where our camp kettles were still on, and with this knowledge among the men, some or other of them were frequently running to the rear to look after the flesh pots." At last General Leith was ordered to advance one of his battalions to relieve the 81st—of Manningham's brigade—which had not only suffered severely, but had nearly exhausted its ammunition. Leith sent the 59th forward under a heavy fire, by which their colonel and six other officers were wounded, and this was the only regiment of the brigade which appears this day to have been seriously engaged; the 51st had one sergeant and four men killed and twenty wounded, the 76th one man killed and six wounded. In the action the King's Colour of the 51st was carried by Ensign Hawley, the Regimental Colour by Ensign Hare, who tells us that "my Colour had three shots in it, two in the silk, and one at the top of the staff." Darkness put an end to the battle, the French fell back, but "at the close of the action," writes Leith Hay, "there was not the same exhilarating feeling, the same excitement, that usually attends a victory. No pursuit, no trophies, nor any prisoners, at once to attest the services and the fortune of the army. . . . A stillness prevailed for hours. The repose of the camp was only interrupted by the formation of the troops at midnight, when the whole, with the exception of the picquets, marched towards the harbour. . . . Soon after daylight on the 17th General Leith's brigade was conveyed to the shipping; the boats of the men of war rapidly performed this service."

The 51st Regiment was not able to pay final honours to its former Colonel, the Commander of the Forces, who had fallen mortally wounded in the Battle of Corunna, but Hay records that "when passing the citadel on our way to the *Zealous*, seventy-four guns, we perceived in the nearest bastion Colonel Graham and one other officer superintending a ceremony which we could not doubt was the interment of the brave commander of the forces. There was something unusually melancholy in this scene. . . . nothing around seemed calculated to enliven it. . . . all seemed sombre and depressed; we were flying from the land, which was left in the undisturbed possession of troops, vanquished on the preceding day, but now preparing to fire the last taunting discharges against soldiers whom Fortune appeared to have frowned upon even in victory."

In the general order published on the 18th January, from H.M.S. *Audacious*, Lieutenant-General Sir John Hope, upon whom, through the death of Moore and the severe wounding of Baird, had devolved the command of the force, paid this splendid tribute to the memory

of its great leader : " His career has been unfortunately too limited for his country, but has been sufficient for his own fame. Beloved by the army, honoured by his Sovereign, and respected by his enemy, he has terminated a life devoted to her service by a glorious death, leaving his name as a memorial, an example, and an incitement to those who shall follow him in the path of honour ; and it is from his country alone that his memory can receive the tribute which is its due."

The headquarters of the 51st seems to have embarked in the *Melanthe*, and at daylight on the 18th January, the fleet of warships and transports began to get under weigh. There was rough weather in the Bay. Colonel Darling nearly died at sea of malarial fever, Captain Mercer, commanding the grenadier company of the Regiment, was washed overboard and with difficulty rescued ; the voyage occupied three days and nights ; and it was in parties of varying strength, haggard, toil-worn and fever-stricken, that the remnants of the 51st Regiment at last landed at divers British ports and found their way to their garrison.

Lieut.-Colonel Darling received the medal for commanding the Regiment in the Battle, while the Battle Honour " *Corunna* " was awarded to the 51st in the following order dated the 9th August, 1834 :

" Most humbly submitted to your Majesty.

*" That the 51st Regiment be permitted to bear the words " **Corunna**," " **Salamanca**," " **Orthes** " and " **Pyrenees** " in addition to any other Badges and Devices which may have heretofore been authorized to be borne on the Colours, and Appointments of the Regiment in consideration of the gallantry displayed by that Regiment in **Corunna** on the 16th January, 1809 ; at **Salamanca** on the 22nd July, 1812 ; at **Orthes** on the 27th February, 1814 ; and in the **Pyrenees** from the 28th July to the 2nd August, 1813.*

" Approved.

(Signed) "**WILLIAM, R.**"

In anticipation apparently of the arrival in England of the 51st, orders had been issued to the Officer Commanding at Portsmouth, dated the 15th February, 1809, " to cause the 51st Foot on arrival at Portsmouth from the Isle of Wight to march to Chichester and follow the orders of the Officer Commanding in Sussex," but the Regiment having been collected at Sandown, in the Isle of Wight, on its return from Spain does not seem to have moved for some weeks.

There is a " *Monthly Return* " which is dated " 25th February, 1809, Sandown, Isle of Wight," and signed by Lieut.-Colonel Mainwaring, and from this some idea may be obtained of the losses

of a regiment which was not so seriously engaged as some others, and did not experience the full horrors and hardships of the Retreat.

The Return shows as "present": one Lieut.-Colonel, one Major, eight Captains, seven Lieutenants, five Ensigns, one Paymaster, one Adjutant, one Quarter-master, one Surgeon, one Assistant Surgeon, forty-two Sergeants, twenty-one Drummers and 107 Privates. Twenty-three men appear as "sick in quarters," 284 as sick in hospital, and 114 as missing—"supposed to be on board"; six men were away recruiting, while fifty-nine were "missing in Spain"—Total 593. Two Sergeants, one Drummer and 209 privates were "wanting to complete"; nineteen had died since the last return was rendered.

The officers present were Lieut.-Colonel Mainwaring; Major Dunkin (sick); Captains Sparkes (sick), Mercer, Keyt (sick), Campbell, Bloomfield, Shanley, Thwaites and Kelly; Lieutenants Phelps, Fullerton (sick), Smellie, Campbell (sick), James Ross, John Ross, Barker (sick), Percy, Brook, Minchin, Hare (sick), and Stephens; Paymaster Pollock (sick); Adjutant Jennings; Quarter-master Ross; Surgeon Webster and Assistant Surgeon Reid. There was one Volunteer present of the name of Mainwaring.

The same six officers were absent on recruiting duty as are named in the Return for 1st October, previously quoted; Ensigns Isherwood and Walker were on duty at Ramsgate; Ensigns Hawley and Cox on duty with sick at Gosport; while away on leave of absence were Lieut.-Colonel Darling, Major Blackall, Captains Rice, Roberts and Douglas, Lieutenants Beardsley and Frederick, Ensigns Bayly and Hicks and Assistant Surgeon Johnston.

Lieutenant Bower is shown as absent without leave and as having been since the 1st November, 1808, "in the hands of the Civil Power."

Lieutenant Drew appears as absent since the 6th January, when he was "sent from Lugo very ill, supposed to have died on the road to Corunna"; and Lieutenant Honey's commission is stated to be vacant, "he having died on the 4th January, 1809, from fatigue in Spain."

On the 31st March, the 51st was directed to proceed, five companies to Exeter and St. Thomas and five to Honiton, "and to follow the orders of the Officer commanding in the Western District for further proceedings." The move was to commence on the 4th April, and the two wings or divisions were timed to reach their destinations on the 12th of that month; but subsequent orders directed the 51st to march to Kingsbridge and Halsted, the Regiment

only remaining sufficiently long at Exeter to be inspected by Major-General Browne. This inspection took place on the 28th April, when the Reviewing Officer reported: "Inspected on its way to Kingsbridge Barracks, this Battalion being just returned from a very severe service in Spain: glad to report the men looked well and fresh."

He also remarked of the Colours, "both wanting," and further, "the small chest with the whole of the Armourer's tools lost on the retreat between Astorga and Lugo."

On the 19th June, the 51st had a further change of quarters, being on that date moved to the barracks at Berryhead, but immediately prior to leaving Kingsbridge, the Regiment was made a Light Infantry Regiment, an honour conferred partly no doubt in appreciation of its services in the Corunna campaign, and partly as a memorial to Sir John Moore, who had commanded the 51st in old days and who was justly regarded in the Army as the exponent of everything relating to Light Infantry.

The first intimation that anything of this nature was under consideration is contained in a memorandum dated Horse Guards, 7th April, 1809, and signed "Harry Calvert, A.G.," which runs as follows: "Lieut.-General Morshead having requested at the particular solicitation of the Officers of the 51st Regiment, that, in the event of any addition being made to the number of the Light Battalions, the 51st might be included in that number. It is therefore humbly submitted for His Majesty's approbation that the 51st be placed on the establishment of His Majesty's Light Infantry Regiments."

This was followed by the following letter¹ dated "Horse Guards," 2nd May, 1809.

"Sir,

"I have received the Commander-in-Chief's directions to acquaint you that His Majesty has been pleased to approve of the 51st Regiment being immediately formed into a Light Infantry Corps in all respects upon the same plan as the 43rd, 52nd, 68th, 71st and 85th Regiments.

"I have accordingly made application to the Board of Ordnance in order that the 51st Regiment may be supplied with arms of the Light Infantry pattern.

I have the honour, etc.,

Harry Calvert, A.G."

"Lieut.-General Morshead, Colonel of the 51st Regiment."

¹W.O. 3/48. (Third Series).

CORUNNA AND WALCHEREN—1808 AND 1809

At this date there were only five Light Infantry Regiments in existence—

the 52nd Foot, now the 2nd Btn.	Oxford and Bucks. L. I.	made 1803
„ 43rd „ „ „ 1st „ „	„ „ „	1803
„ 68th „ „ „ 1st „ „	Durham Light Infantry „	1808
„ 85th „ „ „ 2nd „ „	King's Shropshire L. I. „	1808
„ 71st „ „ „ 1st „ „	Highland L. I. . . „	1809

The following regiments have since been made Light Infantry—the 90th Foot, now the 2nd Btn. Cameronians (Scottish

	Rifles) in 1815
„ 13th „ „ „ Somerset Light Infantry	1822
„ 105th „ „ „ 2nd Btn. K.O.Y.L.I.	1840
„ 106th „ „ „ 2nd „ Durham L. I.	1840
„ Royal Marines, now the Royal Marine Light Infantry ..	1855
„ 32nd Foot, now the 1st Btn. Duke of Cornwall's L. I. ..	1858

It is, however, in the Army List for 1813 only that any of the above-named regiments are for the first time styled “Light Infantry.”

In connection with what has just been mentioned it may be of interest here to point out that the old Third West York Militia (now the 3rd Battalion York and Lancaster Regiment) was made Light Infantry under authority of a letter dated Whitehall, 18th December, 1852. The old First West York Militia (now the 3rd Battalion K.O.Y.L.I.) did not become Light Infantry until it was officially associated with the 51st in 1881, although already unofficially connected, since it was raised in 1758 as Lord Downe's Regiment of Militia during the Lord Lieutenancy of Charles, Marquis of Rockingham, who held a meeting for the purpose at the “Red Lion” in Pontefract, on Monday, 24th July, 1758. This Regiment was reformed in 1763 as the First or Southern Regiment of West Riding Militia with Colonel Sir George Savile, Bart., M.P., F.R.S., of Thornhill, as its Colonel. Both Rockingham and Savile, as stated in Chapter I, had been closely connected with the raising of the 51st (then 53rd) in 1755.

Since its return from Corunna the 51st had been busily engaged in completing its strength and in drilling the recruits coming in, but it was apparently not considered fit to take the field again when Sir Arthur Wellesley returned to the Peninsula there to continue the war against the French. In the spring of 1809, however, the British government had under consideration a scheme for sending an expedition to the Scheldt for the purpose of attacking and destroying the French fleet and arsenals; and the first intimation to the army that anything of the kind was in prospect seems to be contained in a letter sent to the Commander-in-Chief by Lord

Castlereagh. It is dated the 8th May, 1809, expresses the hope that "the Regiments of the Line may by this time have made considerable progress towards being again fit for service," states that the season is advancing when their exertions may once more be called for, and asks for a return of all battalions now in England, the effective strength of which exceeds 600 men.

A Return of fifty-three battalions then in England was submitted on the 10th May, and this included the 51st, as to which the following particulars are interesting: the "effective strength previous to the Militia volunteering" is stated to be 441, the "volunteers from the English Militia" numbered 216, from "the Irish Militia" eighty-six, making a total of 743. There are shown as "left in Spain" 106, making a "General Total" of 849. A note is added that the Regiment "requires time to be drilled as a light infantry regiment."

The Government seem to have found some difficulty in making up their minds as to the size of the force to be employed; the Commander-in-Chief was in the first instance asked to arrange for an expeditionary force of 25,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry, with a reserve or supporting force—"to be disposable for any other service"—10,000 strong. Some four weeks later Sir David Dundas was directed to detail a force amounting to 35,000 infantry and only 1,800 cavalry, and to hold it ready for immediate embarkation. In neither of the two first lists submitted do we find the 51st mentioned, but the Regiment, strength 652, appears in the third and final list dated the 7th July. Then in what is called an "Outline of the dislocation of the troops about to proceed on service," the 51st appears with the 14th and 63rd Regiments and a battalion of detachments in the brigade commanded by Brigadier-General Houston and in the 1st Division under Lieut.-General Sir John Cradock. General the Earl of Chatham was in chief command.

On the 2nd July, the 51st left Berryhead, where remained a depot under Major Samuel Rice, and sailed thence for Portsmouth in several small vessels; here the Regiment was transferred to H.M.S. *Impetueuse*, and sailed for the Downs where the fleet of transports and ships of war was assembling. Some changes had by this time been made in the commands and disposition of the force, Major-General Graham (afterwards Lord Lynedoch) replacing Sir John Cradock in the command of the 1st Division, while the Brigade in which the 51st was to serve now contained the 3rd Battalion Royals, 1st Battalion 32nd, 51st and 1st Battalion 82nd—still under command of Brigadier-General Houston.

The expeditionary force, naval and military, had been formed in three divisions, the composition of which and the duties assigned to each were as follows: the first division, consisting of thirty-four

vessels of all kinds and Hope's Reserve Division, was to land on the Island of Schouwen on the north shore of the East Scheldt, capture the fortress of Goes on South Beveland, and take in rear that of Borssele and other defences on the north bank of the Western Scheldt; the second division—thirteen vessels and Huntley's Second Division—was to capture the Island of Kadzand and the river batteries so as to facilitate an advance upon Antwerp; the third division, with thirty-seven vessels and the two divisions of Graham and Fraser, forming the Left Wing of the Army under Sir Eyre Coote (nephew of the great Indian soldier) was to effect a disembarkation on the south-west coast of the Island of Walcheren and be responsible for the capture of Flushing. The two remaining divisions—those of Rosslyn and Grosvenor—were to remain in their transports in the Downs until sent for.

On the evening of Thursday, 27th July, the fleet with the Left Wing of the army from Portsmouth joined the remainder in the Downs, but did not sail again until 4 a.m. on the 29th, when, the wind being favourable, the ships of war and transports came to an anchor, some the same afternoon and some on the morning of the 30th, in the Stone Deep in the East Kapelle Roads.

The wind which had commenced to rise, was now blowing almost a gale and a landing on the west coast of Walcheren was impossible; while until Flushing was taken it was not considered prudent to send the fleet into the Scheldt.

The transports were during the morning and forenoon of the 30th July, moved to the sheltered waters of the Vée'sche Gat, and arrangements were put in hand for landing the 1st, 4th and 5th Divisions under Sir Eyre Coote on the Bree-Zand, about a mile to the west of the Fort den Haake. The 1st and 5th Divisions occupied a position on the Sandhills facing East Kapelle, while the 4th moved more to the left against Fort den Haake and the town of Veere.

So large a body of troops could not be landed at one and the same time; the first landing commenced at 6 p.m., the second on the return of the boats to the ships. Part of General Houston's brigade—the Royals and 32nd—formed part of the second debarkation, but the remaining two of his regiments, the 51st and 82nd, only got ashore during the course of the night of the 30th-31st, by which time the Fort den Haake had surrendered, but the town of Veere, strongly fortified and garrisoned by 600 Dutch, held out until the morning of the 1st August.

Major Hare in his reminiscences states:—"On 1st August, 1809, we landed at Walcheren"; (the date of landing was actually the 31st July) "it being the anniversary of the Battle of Minden, the men all plucked any green shrub as a substitute for laurel to put in their caps."

On this day the British moved forward in three Columns for the investment of Flushing; the Right Column under Major-General Graham advanced by Zoutland, Dykehoek and Vyeter; the Centre under Lieut.-General Lord Paget marched by Hoogeland and Coudekirke on West Zoubourgh; while the Left Column under Brigadier-General Houston, and consisting only of the 51st and 82nd, had been ordered to move "through Middleburgh" (which had capitulated the previous evening) "to East Zoubourgh keeping in communication with Paget on the right and observing Ramakins on the left. About a mile and a half from Middleburgh the Brigadier-General found the enemy in the village of Abeylen, where he had thrown up a breast-work and abbatis, and had posted himself with three six-pounders, lining the enclosures on each side of the road leading to it with chasseurs. The village was carried with great gallantry by the advanced guard, consisting of the light infantry companies of the 51st and 82nd, and a battalion-company of the 82nd, under Colonel Mainwaring, who also took the three pieces of cannon. The column then proceeded to East Zoubourgh which the enemy also attempted to dispute, but the Brigadier-General having made dispositions to turn the village, and pressing forward at the same time with great spirit along the road, the enemy was forced to retire with the loss of one six-pounder and considerable loss in killed, wounded and prisoners. A position was then taken up about a quarter of a mile in front of East Zoubourgh on the right and left of the high road which leads from Middleburgh to Flushing, placing two field pieces in battery on the road."¹

In the Earl of Chatham's despatch dated "Headquarters, Middleburgh, 2nd August, 1809," he wrote of the operations of the 1st that "Nothing could exceed the gallantry of the troops throughout the whole of this day"; while the losses in Brigadier-General Houston's brigade are given as "51st Foot: one Rank and File killed; one Rank and File wounded. 1st Battalion 82nd Foot: eleven Rank and File killed; two Lieutenants, two Sergeants, twenty-one Rank and File wounded."

The whole attention of the British in Walcheren was now centred on the reduction of Flushing, the guns of which prevented the English squadron from entering the West Scheldt except by the slow and tortuous passage through the Sloe Channel.² General Grosvenor's division was now landed and all available troops were busily

¹ *Papers submitted to the House of Commons, 5th February, 1810. It is recorded by Private Wheeler, 51st, in his memoirs, that during the advance two snipers fired on Ensigns Kennedy and Read carrying the Colours: the two men were pursued and captured by Sergeant-Major Jones, 51st, who was armed only with a cane.*

² "British Minor Expeditions." p. 63.

employed in erecting batteries and in bringing up artillery stores and supplies, while preparations for bombardment were steadily pushed forward although hindered by heavy rain.

Fort Ramakins surrendered on the evening of the 3rd August, and the siege of Flushing commenced in earnest. The defenders were very enterprising; they made sorties on the 5th and 7th August, while by order of Bonaparte the sea-dykes were cut and the trenches of the besiegers were soon knee-deep in water. Fortunately the greater part of the British batteries had been constructed and armed before the water had commenced seriously to rise, and the siege was carried on with energy despite the great discomfort of the men holding the trenches. On the 14th August, the French garrison of Flushing capitulated and on the following day the defenders to the number of 4,379 of all ranks, under General Monnet, marched out and laid down their arms, and were immediately embarked at Veere for England.

On hearing of the arrival of the British expeditionary force in the Scheldt, Napoleon had realized the importance of the intended blow and had issued the most stringent orders for the defence of Antwerp; reinforcements of men and guns were hurried thither, Bernadotte was sent to take command; and by the 24th August, the batteries and forts on the Scheldt were in a condition to offer a serious resistance to an enemy fleet moving up the river, the French fleet was placed in safety, and Antwerp itself was secure from a *coup de main*.

Lord Chatham had lost some valuable time on arrival in Walcheren, and he did not push on immediately upon the fall of Flushing. It was not until the 19th August, that the 1st and 3rd Divisions, the cavalry and heavy guns were ordered to be conveyed by water to the neighbourhood of Fort Batz, at the south-eastern extremity of South Beveland, where was General Hope's division. Sir Eyre Coote was to be left in Walcheren with the 4th Division and the troops under Lord Paget.

On Sunday, the 20th August, the division of the Army under Major-General Graham was ordered to be embarked at Ramakins for South Beveland, but in consequence of the transports not being in readiness to receive the whole, two battalions only—probably the 51st and 1st Battalion 82nd which appear throughout the campaign to have remained together—under Brigadier-General Houston, were embarked. The remainder of Graham's Division embarked at Ramakins on the 21st and proceeded up the West Scheldt, and by the 25th August, the whole army, except the garrison of Walcheren, was assembled in South Beveland in the vicinity of Fort Batz.

On the 27th August, General the Earl of Chatham called a Council of War attended by all his lieutenant generals, and these "after

having maturely weighed the important subject referred for their consideration, they were unanimously of opinion that the undertaking of the siege of Antwerp was impracticable, and that no possible advantage could result from engaging in any minor operation," and it was decided to strengthen the garrison of Walcheren, which it was proposed still to hold, and embark the rest of the troops in readiness to proceed to England. It seems probable that this decision was not come to solely on realization of the difficulties to be encountered in the siege of Antwerp, but that it was largely influenced by the present sickly condition of the British expeditionary force.

Almost from the arrival of the troops they had been attacked by a bad form of malarial fever, and as time went on the number of those attacked rose in the most alarming manner. The report of the Inspector of Hospitals describes it as a low fever which "subsequently took a form similar to jail fever. It spread with unexampled rapidity. No remedy could be devised to check the ravages, though means might be taken to mitigate the severity of the attacks. Men who have suffered from this fever have their constitutions so shattered that their physical power will for the future be materially diminished." The disease first showed itself among the troops in South Beveland and later attacked the force in the Island of Walcheren. On the 22nd August, the number of sick was 1,564; on the 25th nearly 2,000 men were on the sick list; on the 27th we read "By the returns made up to this day, it appeared that the sick amounted to 3,467 rank and file, and was increasing every hour"; on the 1st September the number was upwards of 5,000; on the 3rd it had risen to 8,194; and on the 7th September the sick of the whole army, including those sent to England, amounted to 10,948!

No time was lost in embarking the captured guns, dismantling the batteries, and in putting the troops on board for the return voyage to England. On the 30th August, the transports containing General Graham's division dropped down the West Scheldt, and on the 7th September they sailed for England.

The 51st reached Portsmouth on the 16th to find that Major-General Wheetham, there commanding, had received orders, dated the 7th September, "to cause the 51st Regiment on arrival off Portsmouth to disembark and march to Horsham Barracks." The strength of the Regiment on arrival in England is shown as thirty-one officers, forty-six non-commissioned officers, and 586 rank and file, while the "casualties which took place between the period of embarkation and the 10th January, 1810" are given as follows: killed, one rank and file; died on service, three officers and six rank and file; died since being sent home, thirty-eight rank and file; deserted,

two rank and file; total casualties, three officers and forty-seven rank and file. The officers who died were Captains Mercer and Bloomfield, and Lieutenant and Adjutant Jennings.

On the 16th October, 1809, "the 51st Regiment of Light Infantry" was inspected at Horsham Barracks, when the following remarks were made, among others, in the Inspecting Officer's Report: "Return of Arms: . . . N.B.—A change of arms to Light Infantry are preparing and are now in a state of forwardness. . . Return of Accoutrements. Both Colours and other accoutrements required. N.B.—The deficiencies are applied for. . ."

The 51st, fortunate as they were in leaving the neighbourhood of Walcheren when they did, had not yet seen the last of it. The troops that had remained in the island, first under Sir Eyre Coote and then under General Don—an old 51st man of Minorca days—were finally withdrawn in November of this year, but so reduced were their numbers from the ravages of the fever, that it was found necessary to send thither some 1,800 infantry and four companies of artillery from England to help destroy the docks at Flushing and the works on the island, and to assist in covering the withdrawal of the remaining troops.

In consequence, on the 1st November, 1809, an order was issued to the Officer Commanding the 51st Foot at Horsham "to cause five companies of the 51st at Horsham (after leaving the heavy baggage) to march to Portsmouth and follow the orders of the Officer Commanding at that place." These five companies sailed once more to the Island of Walcheren under command of Major Dunkin in the transport *Two Brothers*, and on arrival were, with the rest of the reinforcements, placed in flat-bottomed boats in the Veersche Gat; as the withdrawal was unmolested, these troops do not appear to have been actively employed, and by the 9th December the embarkation was completed, and what remained of the expeditionary force was back in England, the five companies of the 51st rejoining headquarters at Horsham.

FUENTES D'ONOR AND BADAJOZ

1811

XII

FROM the orders and returns for 1809, the headquarters of the 51st would appear to have now been at Horsham, but early in 1810, the Regiment seems to have been moved to and quartered at Steyning, whence in August it proceeded for a short time to Brighton, and on the 12th formed part of a large force reviewed by the Prince Regent. It was at Steyning Barracks that the 51st was twice inspected during 1810 by the same Major General Houston under whose command it had served in the Walcheren Expedition. He inspected the Regiment first on the 18th May, and made the following remarks: "Return of Arms: The 32 Fuseses" (Fusils is, of course, meant) "are common ones, to be returned when the brown barrelled ones are sent. . . . Return of Accoutrements: Colours one, good. . . . The Arms are new and complete. . . . Accoutrements for the Establishment in possession and good."

When, on the 18th October, of the same year, General Houston again inspected the 51st Regiment, he reported: "Colours two, good. . . . The Corps in every way fit for service."

Since the 51st left the Peninsula at the close of the Corunna campaign, much had happened in that theatre of the world-war. Sir Arthur Wellesley had returned thither in supreme command of the Allied armies, had defeated Soult in May, 1809, and gained a victory over Marshal Victor in the following July. In 1810, Lord Wellington, as he had now become, was engaged with a new antagonist, Marshal Massena, and in July the fortress of Ciudad Rodrigo had fallen to the French, that of Almeida followed suit, and Wellington's Light Division fell back fighting behind the Coa. But in September the British commander gained a decisive victory at Busaco, and then retired behind the Lines of Torres Vedras, which had been thrown up for the protection of the city and port of Lisbon. Here the British army passed the winter in security, while the French sat down in a devastated country to await the coming of spring, when it was hoped that active operations might more successfully be resumed.

No doubt the 51st Regiment had received some sort of private notice, or had at least heard rumours, that they might shortly hope to be called again into the field, but the first official notification that they were to proceed to the Peninsula was contained in the

following letter¹ signed "W. Merry" and addressed to "the Officer commanding 51st Foot, Steyning," and dated 21st January, 1811: it runs as follows:

1811 "It is His Majesty's pleasure that you cause the 51st Regiment, after leaving the sick and the heavy baggage, to march by the annexed routes to Portsmouth and follow the orders of the Officer Commanding at that place."

The Regiment was to march in two divisions, each of five companies, on the 23rd January, arriving at Portsmouth on the 25th; the one division moved by way of Arundel and Havant, the other *via* Petworth and Chichester. On reaching Portsmouth the 51st seems to have embarked at once in three men of war, the headquarters and five companies in H.M.S. *Revenge*, seventy-eight; three companies in H.M.S. *Dannemark*, seventy-four; and the remaining two in H.M.S. *Vengeur*, seventy-four. The "Monthly Return" of the 25th January is dated from "On Board H.M.S. *Revenge*," and some extracts from it may here be given.

The officers on that date actually present with the Battalion were Lieut.-Colonel Mainwaring, Major Sparkes, Captains Keyt, Shanley, Douglas, Storer, Phelps and McCabe; Lieutenants Campbell, John Ross, Blake, Bayley, Percy, Hawley, Hicks and Stephens; Ensigns Dadd, Dyas, Flamank, Elliott, Simpson, Whyte and Mainwaring (45th Foot attached, a nephew of the Commanding Officer and then not much over thirteen years of age), Paymaster Gibbs, Quartermaster Mills and Surgeon Webster.

The following officers were absent on duty: Lieut.-Colonel Darling and Captain Roberts on the Staff; Captain Thwaites and Assistant Surgeon Reid at the Depot; Captains Campbell and Kelly, Lieutenants James Ross, Hickie, Beardsley, Walker, Brook, Mahon, Hamilton and Read were on Recruiting duty; while the following were on leave of absence but had all been "ordered to join," *viz.*: Major Rice, Lieutenants Smellie, Frederick, Minchin, Westropp, Hare, Varden and Ainsworth; Ensigns Kennedy, de Visme and Brown, and Assistant Surgeon Johnson.

There were thus present twenty-five officers, as above, fifty-four sergeants, twenty-two drummers and 627 rank and file; fifty-two men were in hospital, of whom twenty-nine were at the Depot; forty-three non-commissioned officers and men were away on recruiting duty and twenty-four were on furlough, making a total of 785, with fifteen "wanting to compleat." Since the last return was rendered six men had joined, one had been transferred and one discharged, three men had deserted, one had been promoted and one non-commissioned officer reduced: fifty-two recruits had not joined.

¹ W.O. 58/9.

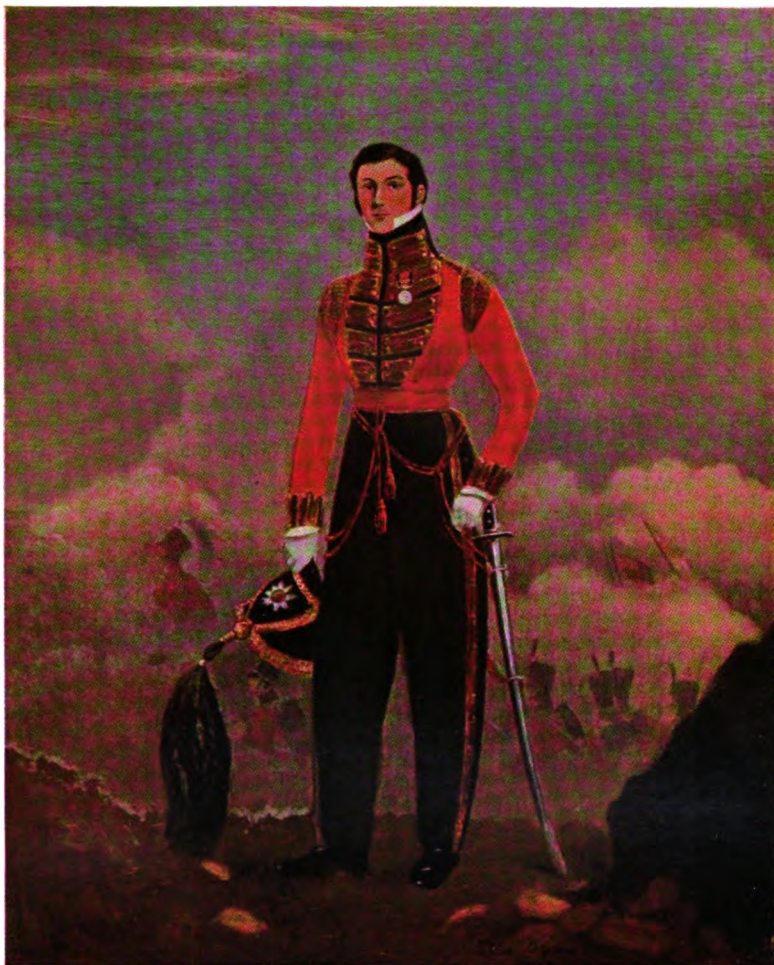
The three men-of-war put to sea at once, but the passage was a very stormy one, and the *Dannemark*, with Major Rice and three companies of the 51st, was separated from the others during a heavy gale, but reached Lisbon the first, arriving on the 19th February, while the two vessels conveying the rest of the regiment reached their destination thirteen days later. The Monthly Return of the 25th February is therefore still dated from "On Board *H.M.S. Revenge*," but the additional information contained therein enables us to see what changes in strength, etc., had taken place between the rendering of the January Return and the departure of the Regiment from Portsmouth. Thus we find that the following officers, previously shown as absent from various causes, had now rejoined *viz.*, Major Rice, Lieutenants Beardsley, Frederick, Westropp, Varden, and Ainsworth, Ensigns de Visme and Jones (adjutant), and Assistant Surgeon Reid. Lieutenants Hare and James Ross and Ensign Brown had joined Captain Thwaites at the Depot, and while there had been but little change in the number of sergeants and drummers, there were now only 613 rank and file, while 85 privates were at the Depot.

¹ "On the 13th March we left Lisbon and went up the Tagus in boats to Villafranca; each man had one blanket, one watch coat, a full kit, sixty rounds of ammunition, three flints, seven days' bread, five days' salt meat, and two days' wine. At Villafranca we had provisions for two days more served to us, and the next morning continued our march to join the army. Nothing particular occurred until the 16th, which day we entered the city of Leyria."

² "The City of Leyria was in flames as we entered, and a most frightful picture of ruin and desolation it presented. One of its principal churches had been used by the French as an hospital and was filled with dead bodies. Houses had been plundered, and many unroofed for firewood. The one we occupied—a nobleman's palace, had been stripped of everything save books; those were useless to the barbarians, but they had wantonly torn them from the shelves of a splendid library, hacked them to pieces, and strewed them on the floor. The next scene of horror I witnessed on this march was at a bridge over a beautiful, clear, rocky-bedded river, where the French rear-guard had attempted a stand; but, hard-pushed by the Light Division, a regiment of Voltigeurs had rushed into the water and the greater part of them were drowned. When we came up the peasants were fishing up their bodies, and there they

¹ "A Journal from the year 1809 to 1816," by a Soldier of the 51st Regiment (William Wheeler), p. 10. This Copy of a very rare book was kindly lent to the compiler of this History by Professor Sir C. Oman.

² "Four Years of a Soldier's Life." U.S. Journal, for 1844. Part 2. p. 513.



ENSIGN JOSEPH DYAS
51st Light Infantry
Thrice led the Stormers at Badajoz, 1811

lay on the banks quite naked, three or four hundred corpses of the finest men I almost ever saw. My young blood" (the writer was the boy-ensign Mainwaring) "froze at the sight, and I experienced at the moment a sensation of horror not to be described.

"We joined the division at a village called Carapina, and were bivouacked on the heights above it. Here we suffered most dreadfully from want of food. We were nearly a week without either bread or spirits, having but the lean and tough ration of beef killed and served out *instantly* to the troops, popped half alive into the pot; and happy was the individual who could add thereto an onion, or the slightest apology for a vegetable, to put into the water in which this carrion was boiled and miscalled soup. This place the soldiers christened Starvation Camp."

The Division which the 51st Regiment now joined was the Seventh,¹ the orders for the formation of which had been issued on the 3rd March of this year, the command being assigned to Major-General Houston. The Seventh Division was intended to contain three brigades, two British, under Generals Long and Alten, and one of Portuguese, under General Coleman, consisting of the 7th and 19th Line and 2nd Cacadores. The composition of the British brigades is not given; but General Orders say that the Brunswick Oels should be in Alten's brigade, and the Chasseurs Britanniques (arrived at Lisbon from Cadiz, January 28th) in Long's. The other regiments in the division were the 51st and 85th, which were in Long's Brigade, and the 1st and 2nd Light Battalions, King's German Legion, in Alten's. These last only landed on March 21st, and did not join the division till it came down with Wellington from Almeida to the Guadiana Valley for the second siege of Badajoz. Thus the British Brigade (at first there was only one) contained the 51st, 85th, Chasseurs Britanniques, and Brunswick Oels. On March 31st Sontag was posted to command it, *vice* Long, removed to command Beresford's Cavalry, on March 19th. On July 19th the 68th (just arrived) was posted to the 7th Division.

The Monthly Return of the 51st for March is dated "Huts near Carapina," and one may gather from it, and from succeeding returns, how much the Walcheren fever had done to enfeeble the men and render them unfitted for the hardship and exposure of active service. On this date the strength of the Regiment was one lieut.-colonel, two majors, five captains, thirteen lieutenants, seven ensigns, one paymaster, one adjutant, one quartermaster, one

¹ The details here given about the 7th Division are taken from Atkinson's "*Divisions and Brigades of the Peninsular Army*," published in Oman's "*Wellington's Army*."

surgeon, one assistant-surgeon, thirty-two sergeants, sixteen drummers, and 563 rank and file only.

There were sick at Headquarters, one corporal and thirteen rank and file. At Lisbon, twenty-one rank and file. At Pombal, one corporal and two rank and file. At Verinah Padre, one sergeant, one corporal, and twelve rank and file.

One officer, one sergeant and twelve other ranks were "on command," while Captain Shanley is shown as "on sick leave to Lisbon" and also as dying there on the 23rd March.

"The allied army" (including the now completed 7th Division) "was collected in the neighbourhood and in front of Celorico on the 28th March, with a view to dislodge the enemy from the position which they had taken up upon Guarda, which they still occupied in force, and of which they apparently intended to retain possession. . . . On the morning of the 29th the 3rd, 6th and Light divisions . . . moved upon Guarda in five columns, which were supported by the 5th Division in the valley of the Mondego, and by the 1st and 7th from Celorico. . . . The enemy abandoned the position of Guarda without firing a shot, and retired upon Sabugal on the Coa."¹

Here on the 3rd April Wellington again attacked and defeated Massena, but during the action the 7th Division was stationed at Cerdeira, with a battalion thrown out to the front to watch the bridge of Sequeiras, a little above Villa Mayor, and was consequently not engaged. It then marched to Villa Mayor, where it remained until the beginning of May, and extracts may here be given from two letters written home by Major Rice of the 51st.²

"As you will have heard of all our operations," he wrote on the 16th April, "since Massena's flight, which was tolerably rapid, it would be useless for me to attempt a recapitulation. . . . You will see by the public documents that no general action has taken place, though much skirmishing with the advance, which has always been to its credit and gallantry. . . . The whole of our Army is now concentrated between Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo—fortresses in possession of the enemy which still hold out. How they are to be disposed of is all a secret, but of this and all other matters of real importance you will be better informed at home than I am here. . . . Lord Wellington and his staff have just passed us. He is going to the side of Badajoz. Something, I conclude, of importance has transpired that calls his attention in the Alemtejo. What is now to be done is mere matter of speculation; time, as in everything, will discover. We are horribly fed, sometimes three or four days without bread."

¹ "Wellington's Despatches." 1838 Edition Vol. 8, p. 425.

² "Life of a Regimental Officer." p. 147-9.

Again, on the 23rd April, Rice wrote from the same place :—
 “ Still stationary, nothing whatever has transpired of any moment in this quarter since my last advice. Almeida continues invested ; what is to be the result, as I said before, I am ignorant of. It is, however, pretty clear that no operations have as yet begun as to indicate the intention of a siege. One would suppose that something must shortly be attempted, unless Lord Wellington is informed as to the positive provisionment of the garrison, by which the trouble and loss of heads may be spared. The French are friendly and give us no trouble. They occupy a position on the Agueda with a corps of 4,000 men—merely, I conclude, as a reconnoissance from the main body of the army, which is at Salamanca and in cantonments in the neighbourhood, or it may be further, from what I know, so little do we hear.

“ His lordship we have heard nothing of since his departure for the Alemtejo. Some serious errors have been committed, to the full extent of which we remain in the dark. Much anxiety is, of course, expressed. I trust things will not prove so bad as report makes them as any little reverse gives encouragement to our friends. A squadron of the 13th was surprised and taken near Badajoz lately ; it was acting as a picquet to a division of our army ; the consequence was so far serious that the French cavalry pushed through the cantonments of the infantry. . . . The weather, is here dreadfully cold and unpleasant, though you will scarcely believe it from our geographical situation. Guarda, from which we are distant but five leagues, is supposed to be one of the highest cities in Europe, so of our atmosphere I leave you to judge. Hunger, misery and grumbling is the order of the day.”

The return for this month (April), compiled at Villa Mayor, shows that the strength of the 51st continued to decrease ; on the 25th there were present thirty-six officers, thirty-five sergeants, eighteen drummers and 494 rank and file only ; Captain Smellie, Lieutenants Hickie and Minchin, Ensign Kennedy and Assistant Surgeon Johnson had joined since the last return was rendered ; Ensign de Visme is shown as on duty at Lisbon, and Assistant Surgeon Reid at Castanheira ; while Captain Keyt was sick at Celorico.

The chief military happenings in March and April, 1811, may thus be epitomized ; in March the French had captured Badajoz and Campo Mayor, but the latter fortress was evacuated on the approach, about the 25th, of Marshal Beresford with two divisions and detachments of the other arms. Early in April Beresford invested Badajoz, but he made but little progress, and on the 21st Wellington arrived himself, intending to prosecute the siege with the utmost vigour in the hope of capturing the fortress before Soult could come up to the

help of the garrison. Wellington, however, was shortly recalled to the neighbourhood of Almeida in view of the reports that Massena was advancing in force to raise the blockade of that place. By the 28th April Wellington was back with his army and decided to give battle to Massena between the Agueda and the Coa.

"The ground chosen by Wellington for a general action was the western margin of the great table-land of Leon, on a ridge between the two streams named the Dos Casas and the Turones—on the crest, in fact, of the most westerly, save one, of the waves of that great undulating plain. The Dos Casas rises in a swamp of some extent, hard by Nave de Haver, a village which is conspicuously marked by a high rounded hill above it. From this swamp it issues in two tiny rivulets which flow northward in parallel courses for over three miles before they unite. The more easterly of them is called the Ribeira del Campo, and the more westerly the Dos Casas, the latter of which after a course of about two miles passes through the village of Poco Velho. Before this village is another swamp—in 1811 of small area and covered with woods, but now dotted only with scattered trees—which helps to swell the petty volume of its waters. From Nave de Haver downwards to the junction of the two little streams the valley of the Dos Casas is so shallow as to present no great obstacle; but from that point it begins to betray the true characteristic of the Spanish rivers by digging itself a deeper bed. Nevertheless the depression is still shallow and the banks of no very formidable gradient when, about a mile below its confluence with the Ribeira del Campo, the stream runs past Fuentes de Onoro. This low-lying village straggles along the western margin for three-quarters of a mile, the only building visible at any distance being the church, which is situated upon a point somewhat higher than the surrounding ground. Gardens and other enclosures fenced in by stone walls contribute to make the post in a high degree defensible. Below the village the valley becomes a rock-studded ravine which grows deeper and deeper as the waters are swollen by countless tiny tributaries, until underneath Fort Concepcion, about eight miles beyond Fuentes de Onoro, the stream flows at a level from three to four hundred feet below the summit of the ridge.

"It was behind these eight miles of ravine that Wellington designed to accept battle, resting his right upon Fuentes de Onoro and trusting with justifiable confidence to the natural strength of the ground to protect his left."¹

The British Army was thus disposed: the 5th Division on the left was drawn up to the south of Fort Concepcion; on its right was the 6th Division; while behind Fuentes de Onoro were the 1st, 3rd

¹ *Fortescue*. Vol. 8, pp. 155 and 156.

and 7th, with the Light Division in reserve and the cavalry to the right rear. The village was held by 2,000 men of the Light Companies of the 1st and 3rd Divisions.

Mainwaring tells us¹: "We arrived on our ground at night;"—on the 2nd May—"the deep and dark blue sky was without a cloud, spangled with thousands of stars; there was not a breath of air; the lizards and frogs were alone making themselves heard through the stillness of that beautiful night. My brother officers all seemed delighted at the thoughts of the next morning's work. We could see the fires of the enemy in the wood and on the heights in our front. . . . Day broke at last; and I well remember, in the early grey of a summer's morn as the men stood to their arms, how my eyes stretched to see the French, but they were hidden generally from view by the woods, and I could only just discern two or three dark heavy columns, as quiet and apparently as motionless as ourselves. Soon, however, the musketry began with the attack upon the village, then the deep heavy roar of cannon, and we saw the troops in our front, the 3rd Light Division², smartly engaged. We were kept in reserve all this day, remaining under arms but doing nothing.

"During the night we were moved to the right on account of some movement of the enemy." (The reason for this move of the 7th Division from the left centre almost to the extreme right of the British position, is discoverable from the fact that Massena, finding himself repulsed on the 3rd May, caused the southern or right flank of the position to be more carefully reconnoitred, and thus found that the only troops on this wing, at Nave de Haver, were some partisan troops under the Spanish leader, Julian Sanchez; Wellington learnt of this reconnaissance and realizing its possible result, he detached, first, the 7th Division to the hill overlooking Poco Velho, and then, on the morning of the 5th May, seeing large masses of French troops moving south, Wellington sent the Light Division to support the 7th, and ordered the 1st and 3rd to take ground to their right.)

Houston placed the 85th Foot and 2nd Cacadores in Poco Velho and in the wood adjoining it, with the 51st and Brunswick Oels apparently thrown further back to the right on the plain towards Nave de Haver.

From the account given by Mainwaring it reads as though the action begun on the 3rd, was continued on the 4th, but as a matter of fact the battle was not resumed until the morning of the 5th May.

The action on this day commenced with a collision between some of the French cavalry and Houston's picquets in the wood: "We

¹ "U.S. Journal," 1844. Pt. 2, p. 514 *et seq.*

² The Light troops of the 3rd Division are probably meant.

observed a very fine squadron of French *grenadiers à cheval* which advanced towards the wood near Poco Velho, and charged the infantry skirmishers with which it was filled, but failing to make any impression the Frenchmen gave up that object."¹ This squadron was followed by a cavalry brigade, the advance of which upon Nave de Haver caused the precipitate retreat of the Spaniards under Sanchez, thus leaving the British right with the 7th Division unguarded, and permitting the advance from behind the hill of Nave de Haver of a division of French infantry under Marchand, who swept Houston's skirmishers out of the wood and through the village by sheer weight of numbers, the 85th and 2nd Cacadores falling back up the hill in disorder. "The 51st threw back its right wing—we had only two Portuguese guns, one of which was dismounted by the enemy the first shot they fired, and the Portuguese very prudently walked away with the other for fear it would share the same fate; two of our companies that were out skirmishing with the enemy were obliged to fall back and form on the right of the Regiment. The position of the Regiment, after throwing back its right wing, was about two paces under the brow of a gentle descent, beyond which was the plain covered with the enemy; this position was much in our favour as the enemy could not bring his guns to bear on us. General Houston, who was in rear of the Company to which I belonged, asked Colonel Mainwaring if he knew what day it was; the reply was as jocular as possible—'Yes, General—Sunday, the better day, the better deed.'"²

The masses of French cavalry now came on again, sweeping the two or three squadrons of British dragoons off the field and charging down upon the infantry of the 7th and Light Divisions; "then came," says young Mainwaring,³ "the heavy gallop and rush of cavalry, an immense column of horse advancing at full speed." To meet this most of Houston's battalions were ensconced among rocks and stone fences, the 51st lying down with the battalion of Chasseurs Britanniques⁴ firing over their heads from behind a stone wall. It was probably of this period of the battle when matters looked black and the situation on this, the exposed flank, seemed perilous, that the following incident is described⁵:—"Colonel Mainwaring of the 51st was placed in a position in which he thought he was certain to be

¹ "Peninsular Sketches" by Maxwell. Vol. 1, p. 189.

² Wheeler's "Journal." p. 15.

³ "United Service Journal, 1844." Pt. 2, p. 514.

⁴ Thus Fortescue. Vol 8, p. 162. But both Mainwaring and Wheeler describe it as a Portuguese Battalion.

⁵ "Life of John Colborne, Field-Marshal Lord Seaton." P. 164.

surrounded by the French. So he called his officers and said, 'we are sure of being taken or killed ; therefore we'll burn the Colours.' Accordingly they brought the Colours and burnt them with all funeral pomp, and buried the ashes or kept them, I believe. It so happened that the French never came near them. Lord Wellington was exceedingly angry when he heard of it, as he knew well enough where he had placed the Regiment. So he ordered Mainwaring under arrest and tried him by court martial. An old Colonel, who undertook his defence, said, 'I believe it was something to do with religious principles.' 'Oh,' said Lord Wellington, 'if it was a matter of religious principles, I have nothing more to do with it. You may take him out of arrest ; but send him to Lisbon.' "

It will be clear from what has already been said about the battle that Lord Seaton was wholly in error in saying that the French never came near the 51st, while it may also be questioned whether the man in supreme command in so confused an action as that of Fuentes d'Onor could possibly know exactly where any one out of more than seventy regiments and battalions had been "placed ;" but the following may be added to show that the 51st was not only under effective gun fire, but that individual men of the Regiment were actually at grips with the enemy.

"The enemy," wrote Wheeler, "had brought up their guns to the high ground and played on us a considerable time ; one of our men had a four-pound shot passed through his cap which neither hurt him nor the crown of his cap—this man was shot through the head on the 7th June following at Badajoz. A man of the name of Maxwell, who served in India with the Regiment, was out skirmishing with the enemy ; one of the Cavalry singled him out for his prey and with a downright blow at his head cut his cap through. Maxwell shot the horse, but the Frenchman, being an active fellow, seized hold of Maxwell's firelock when a scuffle ensued. The cavalryman was thrown, but refused to surrender, and when in the act of rising to renew the scuffle Maxwell ran him through the body."

The 7th and Light Divisions were now somewhat isolated and Wellington sent orders to Houston to fall back north-westward across the Turones towards Frenada, covered by the Light Division and the cavalry, while he checked the advance of the 1st and 3rd Divisions, forming with them a new line facing south.

Arrived at Frenada, the retirement of the 7th Division being admirably covered by Craufurd's men, the 51st was strongly posted behind some stone walls immediately in front of the town ; here they were wholly unmolested, and so far as the 51st was concerned the battle for them was over, though it was not until the night of the

7th May that Massena finally accepted defeat and, retiring, drew the whole of his force back across the Agueda.

In the *Mémoires du General de Marbot*, Vol. 2, p. 463, there is a highly exaggerated account of the French attack upon Houston's division: we there read that "General Montbrun, concealing his guns behind some squadrons of hussars, advanced afresh and suddenly unmasking his artillery bombarded Houston's division, and when that was sufficiently shaken he caused it to be charged by Wathier's and Fournier's brigades, which sabred practically the whole of the English 51st Regiment and put to flight the survivors of the remainder of the division. The fugitives reached Villa Formosa on the left bank of the Turones, and owed their rescue to a regiment of Chasseurs Britanniques which, posted in rear of a long wall, checked the *élan* of our horsemen by a fire as sustained as it was well directed." The loss of the 51st in the battle is proof sufficient of the wholly untrustworthy nature of Marbot's account of what here took place.

The loss of the 51st was only five rank and file wounded¹—Wheeler gives it as "one bugler and fifteen rank and file wounded," and the Regiment got off more lightly than any of the other battalions of the 7th Division: thus the 85th Foot had one officer and twelve other ranks killed, three officers and thirty-six men wounded, and forty-three men missing. The Chasseurs Britanniques had thirty men killed, four officers and seventeen men wounded, and seven men missing; while the casualties among the Brunswick Oels amounted to one man killed, one officer and six men wounded, and ten missing. The losses of the Portuguese brigade of the 7th Division cannot be stated as they are not given separately—only the total casualties in the whole Portuguese contingent being stated.

Rice, writing home the day after the action, said²: "We have suffered little, though the first attack was made on our regiment by a body of cavalry, who came up to the charge, but were soon convinced that we were not to be trifled with. I had an 'all-but,' having my cap whisked off by a three-pounder, but received no other injury than a temporary stunning from the concussion. The French again menaced us this morning, but it has since proved a mere manoeuvre, and they are off and we are prepared to follow. I literally have not time to say more."

The 51st had to wait almost exactly sixty years before sanction was accorded to the Regiment to bear the Honour "Fuentes d'Onor," as the following letter shows:—

¹ "London Gazette," 21st May, 1811.

² "Life of a Regimental Officer." P. 155.

"Most humbly submitted to your Majesty by your Majesty's most dutiful Cousin and Servant

"GEORGE.

"That on the personal representation of Lieutenant-General Sir William Henry Elliott, K.C.B., Colonel of the 51st Regiment (2nd Yorkshire, West Riding, King's Own Light Infantry) who carried the Colors of that Corps in the actions in the Peninsular (sic) on the 3rd and 5th of May, 1811, the Regiment may be permitted to bear on its second Color the words "Fuentes d'Onor" in commemoration of its services on the occasion.

"Horse Guards,

"War Office,

"27th Nov., 1871.

"Approved.

VICTORIA REG."

Notified 9.12.71.

To the Colonel, 10 Officer Commanding Regt., and papers passed on to D. for Gazette.

Massena being unable to reach and succour Almeida, it was not unreasonable to hope that the fortress and garrison would have been captured shortly by the British, but the French commander destroyed his guns, collected his men, broke through the blockading force, and made his escape with but little loss; whereupon Wellington, leaving a force to observe the French in the neighbourhood, sent the rest of his army to Badajoz, with the siege of which he intended seriously to proceed.

Marmont had by this succeeded Massena in command of the French army in Portugal.

"After the battle of Fuentes d'Onor," Mainwaring tells us, "we received orders to move towards the Alemtejo, and after a rapid march and crossing the Tagus by means of a bridge of boats at Villa Velha, one of the most beautiful and romantic spots I ever saw, we entered the south of Portugal where everything wore a more smiling aspect; the country was rich and fertile, the towns were handsome and well-peopled; war had not made a desert of the Alemtejo, and until our arrival at Campo Mayor we found no trace of its footsteps. Here we were within two or three leagues of Badajoz, in possession of the French." We do not know the exact date of the arrival at Campo Mayor of the 51st, and can only get it approximately by inference; thus, Wellington writing from Elvas on the 22nd May to the Earl of Liverpool states that "the 3rd and 7th Divisions of the allied British and Portuguese army are on their march to this part of the country," while writing again to the same correspondent on the 24th, he speaks of these two divisions "having arrived at Campo Mayor."

¹ Gurwood, "Despatches." Vol 7. pp. 595 and 604.

It may then reasonably be accepted that the 7th Division marched in to that place on the 23rd, and the 51st was certainly there on the 25th since the Monthly Return for May 25th is dated from "Campo Mayor." The State shows the Regiment as having a present strength of thirty-two officers, twenty-eight sergeants, eighteen drummers, and 434 other ranks; there were sick at Headquarters, at Lisbon, Coimbra, Abrantes, Celorico and Castanheira two captains, six sergeants, one drummer and 151 rank and file; and absent on command were one lieutenant, two ensigns, two assistant surgeons, four sergeants and twenty men.

The blockade of Badajoz had been resumed on the 18th May, and on the 25th the 7th Division marched from Campo Mayor—probably in the afternoon—and invested the place on the north bank of the Guadiana; while on the 27th Picton's division (the 3rd) also marched from Campo Mayor, crossed the river and joined the besieging force on the south bank, on which stood the fortress. Five hundred yards distant across the river stood Fort Christobal on some high ground, while on the other sides of Badajoz the fortress was protected by two works known as the Picurina and Pardeleras and by the broad deep stream of the Guadiana.

On the night of the 29th trenches were opened before Pardeleras; next day parallels were commenced 800 yards from the Castle and 400 from St. Christobal; and by the morning of the 3rd June, four batteries mounting fourteen guns had been completed against St. Christobal and one battery with twenty guns against the Castle. A heavy fire was opened, more guns were placed in position, and by the night of the 6th June it was considered that a practicable breach had been made in the walls of St. Christobal, and that an assault might successfully be attempted.

"In the afternoon," writes Wheeler,¹ "all of us that were off duty in the Camp were fell in, and Mr. Jones, our adjutant, came in front and said he wanted about 200 men to storm a fort; the words were scarcely uttered when the whole party moved forward. As there were more than was wanted, Mr. Jones said he would go down the ranks blindfold and any man he chanced to touch must fall to the rear. In this manner was the storming party formed. It consisted of three divisions of the 51st and one division of the 85th Regiments, each division was fifty rank and file; we were supported by detachments from the Chasseurs Britanniques and Portuguese. Ensign Dyas volunteered to lead the forlorn hope and a proper proportion of officers and non-commissioned officers were told off to the party^a, the whole was under the command of Major Macintosh,

¹ "Journal." pp. 16-18.

^a Barrett, "History of the 85th King's L.I.," says this party consisted of 25 men.

85th Regiment. About 10 o'clock p.m. we advanced up the glacis, broke down some palisades, jumped into the ditch and fixed our ladders, but, shocking to relate, they did not reach the top of the walls by six feet. In this situation we were exposed to a most destructive fire from the enemy, they opened six guns on us which scoured the trench with grape, besides they kept up a heavy fire of musketry and filled the ditch with hand grenades, our ladders were shot to pieces and every means of obtaining possession of the fort was destroyed. The order was then given to retire, which was done in good order. Ensign Dyas' cap was blown off his head and his sword shot out of his hand; my firelock was shattered near the lock and a shot passed through the butt."

The French had cleared away the rubbish brought down by the bombardment, leaving a sheer ascent of seven feet to the breach, and had blocked the actual breach with over-turned carts and *chevaux de frise*; having lost nearly half their number in killed and wounded, the stormers retired, defeated but in no way disgraced. The losses are given as under:—

51st Foot: Killed, three men¹; wounded, one officer and thirty-five men; missing, four men.

85th Foot: Wounded, two officers and six men.

17th Portuguese: Killed, nine men; wounded, two officers and twenty-six men.

Brunswick Oels and Chasseurs Britanniques: Wounded, seven men.

From the 7th to the 9th a heavy fire was maintained against the Castle and St. Christobal, but while the former was pronounced unassailable, St. Christobal was silenced and much damaged, two breaches were discernible and it was decided to deliver a second assault at 9 p.m. on the 9th June.

"On the night of the 8th June, the one previous to the second assault, Ensign Dyas being on duty in the trenches, an order arrived to send an officer and fifteen men to a hollow spot in front of our lines, between St. Christobal and the *tête du pont*, close to the Roman bridge which communicated with the Elvas gate. I know not how it happened but Dyas was selected for this arduous duty. The object of this movement was for the purpose of observing if any and what communication or reinforcement would be sent to the fort. The detachment was to be recalled before day. The night was unusually still and every sound was distinctly heard, but nothing could be ascertained except that one piece of ordnance had passed over to the fort. Day at last began to dawn, yet no order had been received for the withdrawal of the party so stationed; their situation was most critical—within point blank shot of the fort in their rear. Dyas

¹ Privates Garland, Devilin, and Totnal.

ordered his men to lie flat on their faces, though he every moment expected his situation would be discovered and a rush made at him; nevertheless, unintimidated by his perilous posture, he despatched a trusty man to the trenches, with orders to make known to the officer commanding the information he had been enabled to collect, and to know *what* was to be the final duty of the party.

" 'Now mind,' said Dyas, 'if we are to be recalled, do you raise your cap on your firelock above the battery No. 1; if we are to remain, *you know what your duty is.*' 'By J—, and plase your Honour, I do; and recall or no recall, I'll be back with you in five minutes dead or alive.' . . . 'Do as you are ordered, Sir,' said Dyas, 'we have not a moment to lose.'

"A few minutes—a long time under the circumstances—only elapsed before the signal agreed upon was made; and Dyas, addressing a few words to his men, told them their safety depended on their adhering strictly to his directions. He then started them singly to different parts of the line, and singular as it may appear, although it was now clear daylight, not one man was hit."¹

Major-General Houston accordingly called for a fresh storming party on the afternoon of the 9th June; it was to be 450 strong, drawn from the same five regiments, half the party being intended for the actual assault, the remainder to keep down the fire from the parapet.

"Ensign Dyas waited upon General Houston and requested his leave once more to lead the advance. The General said, 'No, you have already done enough, and it would be unfair that you should again bear the brunt of this business.' 'Why, General,' said Dyas, 'there seem to be some doubts of the practicability of this business on the last night of our attack, and although I myself don't think that the breach is even now practicable, I request you will allow me to lead the party.' The General still refused when Dyas thus addressed him: 'General Houston, I hope you will not refuse my request, because I am determined, if you order the fort to be stormed forty times, to lead the advance so long as I have life.' The General, fully appreciating the earnestness of this brave and high-minded young man, at length acquiesced and Major McGueechy, 11th Foot and commanding 17th Portuguese, having volunteered to command the storming party, he and Dyas made the necessary arrangements to reconnoitre the fort that evening.

"They made a detour by the edge of the river, and succeeded in reaching unperceived to within a short distance of the fort. Under cover of some reeds they carefully examined the breach, which to Major McGueechy appeared a practicable one, but Dyas, better

¹ " *Reminiscences of a Subaltern.*" *United Service Journal*, 1831. Pt. 1. P. 337.

informed from experience, combated all the arguments of his companion, and desired him to watch attentively the effect of the next salvo from our batteries ; he did so and appeared satisfied with the result—"Because the wall," he remarked to Dyas, "gave way very freely." "Yes," replied Dyas, "but did you observe how the stones *fell* instead of *rolling* ; rely on it if there was any rubbish about the base or face of it, the stones would *roll* and not fall." The observation was not lost on Major McGueechy, but it having been decided that the attack was to be made that night, both the leader of the forlorn hope and the commander of the storming party at once made up their minds for the trial.

"At 9 o'clock at night, 200 men moved forward to the assault, Dyas leading the advance. He made a circuit until he came exactly opposite to the breach instead of entering the ditch as before ; a sheep-path which he remembered in the evening while he and McGueechy made their observations, served to guide them to the part of the *glacis* in front of the breach. Arrived at this spot the detachment descended the ditch, and found themselves at the foot of the breach ; but here an unlooked-for event stopped their further progress, and would have been of itself sufficient to have caused the failure of the attack. The ladders were entrusted to a party composed of a foreign corps in our pay, called the Chasseurs Britanniques ; these men, the moment they reached the glacis, glad to rid themselves of their load, flung the ladders into the ditch, instead of sliding them between the palisades ; they fell across them and so stuck fast, and being made of heavy green wood, it was next to impossible to move, much less place them upright against the breach, and almost all the storming party were massacred in the attempt.

" . . . Every officer of the detachment had fallen, Major McGueechy one of the first ; and at this moment Dyas and about twenty-five men were all that remained of the 200. Undismayed by these circumstances the soldiers persevered, and Dyas, though wounded and bleeding, succeeded in disentangling one ladder and placing it against what was considered to be the breach, it was speedily mounted, but upon arriving at the top of the ladder, instead of the breach, it was found to be a stone wall that had been constructed in the night, and which completely cut off all communication between the ditch and the bastion so that when the men reached the top of this wall, they were, in effect, as far from the breach as if they had been in their own batteries."¹

Every man who attempted to ascend was either shot or bayoneted as he gained the top of the ladders, while from the summit of the parapet the defenders hurled down grenades, bags of powder and

¹ "Reminiscences of a Subaltern." *U.S. Journal*, 1831. Pt. 2. Pp. 335, 336.

every kind of missile upon the heads of the stormers. The unequal fight was maintained for an hour, when the column fell back with a loss of one hundred and thirty-nine killed and wounded—sevenths of the number that had taken part in the great adventure.

On this second occasion the casualties were thus distributed :—
51st Foot : Killed or died of wounds, one officer and twenty-three men¹; wounded, two officers and thirty-one men.

85th Foot : Killed, one officer and seven men; wounded, one officer and ten men; missing, one officer.

17th Portuguese : Killed, two officers and ten men; wounded, one officer and sixteen men; missing, one officer.

Brunswick Oels and Chasseurs Britanniques : Killed, nine men; wounded, one Officer and thirteen men; missing, one officer and seven men.

In the 51st the officer mortally wounded was Lieutenant Westropp, the officers wounded were Captain Smellie, Lieutenants Beardley and Hicks—all three severely; there is nothing to show which of these subalterns was wounded at the first storming; of the total of sixty-six men wounded, three were sergeants. In addition to these losses, nine men of the 51st had been wounded between the 30th May and 5th June, both dates inclusive.²

Lord Wellington in his despatch of the 13th June to the Earl of Liverpool, wrote: "I have every reason to be satisfied with the conduct of all the officers and troops employed at the siege of Badajoz, whose labours and exertions deserved a very different result;" and in recognition of the services of Ensign Dyas Lord Wellington offered him a lieutenancy in any corps in the Army; Dyas was, however, immediately promoted in the 51st *vice* Westropp mortally wounded on the night of the 9th June.

It will thus be seen that during these siege operations the 51st suffered a total loss of 109 killed, wounded and missing, or, according to Wheeler, 133—but the 51st has not been accorded the "Honour" of "Badajoz" on their Colours, presumably because the siege operations of 1811 did not secure the fall of the fortress. And yet those regiments which took part in the successful siege a year later have been granted the Honour, though one of these had but two men wounded, and the casualties of another amounted to one officer wounded!

¹ *Corporals Clements and Douglas, Privates Goodwin, Hanley, Blizzard, Dews, Elliott, Finamore, Phillips, Hopkins, Pope, Price, Peel, Maher, Plumb, Jackman, Shields, Wild, Cartwright, Bateman, Brady, and two others not traceable.*

² *Thus the London Gazette, but Wheeler, p. 18, says that the 51st had previously lost during the siege, 5 rank and file killed, 1 sergeant and 25 rank and file wounded.*

In the following letter¹ dated "Camp before Badajoz, 16th June, 1811," Major Rice gave a brief account of all that had been happening: "The siege of this place, which began under such favourable auspices, I am sorry to say is not likely to terminate yet awhile, and if at all only by starvation, for it is most ably defended, beyond, I believe, the calculations of the scientifics. We opened fire from our batteries on the 2nd June, and proceeded to batter and destroy but without much effect, for the guns and all apparatus are withdrawn within these last three days. The cause is said to be that Marshal Soult is again coming forward with a determination to dispute the point and afford relief to the garrison; but before this a general action must be fought, and a bloody one it will be, for on this depends the fate of Badajoz and of the frontier—at any rate for a time. The place still continues invested, but all expect to move directly to the army in front. We have been most cruelly harassed day and night, and totally uncovered, as well as exposed to a most scorching sun. Our Regiment has suffered much in two unsuccessful attempts to storm a fort—100 men killed and wounded and several officers. I have escaped wonderfully, though never under a hotter fire in my life. I am writing from the bare ground on which I have taken up my abode this last month entirely. Mainwaring is sick; I command the Regiment reduced already to 300—so much for honour and glory."

Lt.-Colonel Mainwaring had gone sick to Lisbon, but it would seem that as a result of his action in regard to the burning of the Colours at Fuentes d'Onor he had virtually been relieved of his command. He exchanged to the half-pay of the 26th Foot with Lieut.-Colonel Mitchell and was later appointed commandant of Hulsea, near Portsmouth, and the 51st saw him no more.

Already on the 13th June Wellington had given orders for the siege of Badajoz to be raised, but the blockade was maintained for a short time longer, chiefly for the purpose of preventing the garrison from obtaining supplies. Within a few days, however, Wellington learnt that Marmont had united with Soult, and their combined forces being nearly double those under his own immediate command, Wellington decided on retreat; on the 17th June he passed the whole of the British force then about Badajoz over the Guadiana, concentrating in the valley of the Caya. The 7th Division returned to Campo Mayor, described by Wheeler² as "a Portuguese garrison, but not in a state of defence, it having only one gun mounted on the Citadel, which was tied to the carriage with a rope, the only use made of it was to alarm the Army when the enemy came out of

¹ "*Life of a Regimental Officer.*" P. 160-161.

² "*Journal.*" P. 19.

Badajoz, which they did several times—each time we took up our position between Elvas and Campo Mayor.”

The Return, dated Campo Mayor, 25th June, gives the strength of the 51st as twenty-six officers, twenty-nine sergeants, seventeen drummers and 310 other ranks. Of sick there were seven officers, thirteen sergeants, two drummers and 283 rank and file, while on command were two ensigns, one paymaster, two assistant surgeons, one sergeant and twenty-four other ranks. The sick officers were Lieut.-Colonel Mainwaring, Captains Keyt, Storer and Smellie, Lieutenants Beardsley, Hicks and Westropp, the last named being shown in another part of the Return as having died on the 11th June ; all the other sick officers were at Lisbon.

It is stated that four sergeants and fifty-nine other ranks had joined from England on 13th June *per* the *Sceptre*, transport, but presumably these are not included in the “ strength ” as given above, and “ joined ” may be taken as meaning that the arrival of this draft had been notified to the headquarters of the Regiment.

About the 17th or 18th July the 51st marched to Niza, which was reached about the 23rd ; some ten days only were spent there, the march being resumed on the 2nd August and the Regiment arriving at Villa Mayor on the 10th. Major Rice, still in temporary command, wrote on the 9th while on the march : “ My last informed you that the foe being no longer to be dreaded in that quarter, the army was moving into cantonments along the frontier, and that we (that is the 7th Division) were to occupy Nissa or Niza. Such did take place and all indulged in the fond hope that we should enjoy a little *otium* for a month or so ; but alas, it is willed otherwise, for we are once more in motion, retracing our footsteps to the Coa. . . . Whatever may be the cause, it is no little annoyance to be so constantly on the march in this hot weather, and in a country more wretched than you can possibly imagine. Not an article of any description is to be purchased, and were it not for our rations we should be literally starved. We have not been under a roof for this some time ; every day we take up fresh ground and seek shelter in the woods, which luckily abound, or we should be grilled alive. As yet I have held out tolerably well, being unwilling to give in while there is a prospect of anything going on. How long I shall last I cannot say, for we are all getting sickly. The Regiment has no more than 300 men.”

On the 19th August Rice wrote again, from “ Villa Mayor, upon the Coa,” and in this letter he said : “ The whole army still remains cantoned upon this frontier, the advance upon the Agueda, with pickets probably as far as Ciudad Rodrigo. They talk of a siege, but I do not hear of the arrival of the battering train, which may possibly

be *en route* from Oporto. You will hardly suppose us to be in such ignorance, but true it is, for one division scarcely knows how the other is posted; but as there is one tolerable directing head, it is of no moment of what materials are composed those who act in so confined a sphere. The French don't appear to have made any movement, still occupying Plasencia and the contiguous country. Ciudad Rodrigo has but a garrison of 1,500 men. A considerable body at Salamanca, but nothing to oppose us if we choose to invest that place or make an advance, which is not, I think, likely. The French to do anything here must assemble in great force and bring forward their supplies, which you know is difficult in any country, much more so in such a barren desert as this is. The grand puzzle now is, what has been the cause of this rapid and unexpected movement from the Tagus to the Coa, when everyone supposed we should be resting till the autumn."

As a matter of fact Wellington had determined upon the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo on the 18th July, he had given orders for the siege train to be brought up, partly by river and partly by land, and by the first week in September it had safely reached Villa da Ponte. On the 11th August the blockade of the fortress had been established by the 3rd and Light Divisions and a body of Spaniards, while the 1st, 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th Divisions were arranged in support or to guard against any movement by the French forces under Marmont; the 7th Division was disposed between Villa Mayor and Sabugal. By this time Major-General Houston had received a welcome augmentation of his command in the arrival from England of the 68th Light Infantry and two battalions of the King's German Legion, so that the three brigades of the 7th Division were by this practically complete; but by the end of September the 85th Foot, now reduced to twenty officers and 246 men, was ordered to return home to recruit, and accordingly marched for Lisbon *en route* to Portsmouth.

The 51st remained until the 22nd September at Villa Mayor; this is described by one of the 7th Division as "a neat village, consisting of about thirty houses and one hundred and twenty inhabitants. It has one church, two chapels and a small market; and a river runs through it which makes it delightfully pleasant. Wood was plentiful; and within a short distance mulberries, grapes and figs were in abundance."¹

The advance of Marmont and Dorsenne towards Ciudad Rodrigo caused Wellington to retire his army southwards, and was responsible for the two actions of El Bodon and Aldea da Ponte; the 7th Division moved on the 22nd September to Guinaldo, only three leagues from the fortress of Ciudad Rodrigo, and on the 25th to Alberqueria; but

¹ Green. "Vicissitudes of a Soldier's Life." P. 68.

on the 27th, the enemy advancing in great force, the Division retired to a strong position near Sabugal. The season being now advanced, the French fell back into winter quarters and during the first week in October Wellington followed suit—the 1st, 5th and 6th Divisions were disposed at Guarda, Celorico and Freixedas, the 7th was at Pena Macor, the 3rd and Light Divisions at Fuente Guinaldo, El Bodon, Martiago and Zamarra, and the 4th about Gallegos.

In August, as has already been stated, Major-General Houston was invalided home, General Sontag commanding the Division in his stead, but towards the end of October Sontag himself fell ill, and Alten took his place, Halkett of the King's German Legion commanding the brigade. The 2nd Brigade of the 7th Division had no commander from the 15th October to the 23rd December when de Bernewitz was appointed.

On the 12th October Major Rice wrote home from Celorico, where he appears to have been in hospital, and gave some account of what had been happening: "I gave you a few hasty lines, I think, on the 26th September. As I predicted that a retreat or an action would take place within twenty-four hours, so it happened. The French pushed forward in great force, and would gladly have brought on an action, but a wise head said nay, and we retrograded. The 3rd Division was pressed hard by the cavalry, but retired in good order by squares, so suffered not so much as might have been expected. The French have again taken themselves off, Marmont by the pass of Banos to Plasencia, and Dorsenne with the remaining force is gone into cantonments in the vicinity of Salamanca. . . . Our advanced posts extend nearly as far as before, though several divisions are on this side of the Coa, where I think they will remain for the winter or until some fresh alarm calls us again into motion. I have been very unwell since my last, but am now considerably better, and have to complain principally of weakness. . . . His lordship is just coming in to inspect the hospitals."

Soon after this Major Rice must have rejoined headquarters, for his next letter is dated the 4th December from Pena Macor, when he wrote: "The army has again been on the *qui vive*, but nothing done. A convoy of provisions was attempted to be thrown into Ciudad Rodrigo, but our lord was too deep. He has good intelligence and certain requisites. General Renaud passed some days here with us. He likes good living and plenty of wine—a tolerable sort of Frenchman. He was taken by Don Julian, the famous guerilla partisan. He thinks Bony will never forgive him and is alarmed. I shall struggle on a little longer before I give in. . . . My poor brother major died the other day." This was Major Frederick Sparkes, who died on the 13th November.

Here, at Pena Macor, the 7th Division spent some weeks, and young Mainwaring¹ tells us that "we led a most agreeable life; the neighbourhood abounding in game our days were passed in coursing and shooting. In the evenings there was always a party at some one's quarters, where cigars, egg wine, and good-humour generally sent half of us tipsy to bed; three times a week a division club, established by the German Light Brigade in an empty convent, added to our amusements and brought us all together—here was music, dancing, and cards—a faro bank for those who were disposed to lose their money—two military bands for the youngsters to dance to, and a sutler's room where was every species of refreshment at most moderate prices. Many a wild, mad scene have I been witness to, and perhaps partaken of, at this club, but all was in perfect good humour, no arguments or strife, nothing but the ebullition of health and youth; our generals and superior officers joined in and added to all our pleasures and amusements, as in the field they shared all our privations and hardships."

Before the winter set in the new C.O. of the 51st had arrived, Lieut.-Colonel Mitchell assuming command on the 25th October.

NOTE TO CHAPTER 12.

Reference to Dyas, of the 51st, who, in spite of his distinguished services, was not promoted captain until December, 1820, is made in "the Military Adventures of Johnny Newcome," said to have been written by Major David Roberts, 51st Regiment. The "Naval and Military Gazette for 1850," p. 274, says that Dyas "was, during his military career, considered to be one of the coolest and, at the same time, one of the bravest officers of any grade in the British Army. He frequently volunteered his services for the most arduous and hazardous duties, and 'Dyas and the Stormers' was a standing toast of the most distinguished campaigners of the day." This toast was revived in the 1st Battalion King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry about 1908, and is honoured weekly on Band Night in the Officers' Mess, standing and in silence, proposed by the Senior Officer of the Battalion present at dinner, after the toast of "The King."

¹ "United Service Journal, 1844." P. 518.

CIUDAD RODRIGO, SALAMANCA AND BURGOS

1812

XIII

FROM a letter written on the 18th December, 1811, by Wellington to the Earl of Liverpool¹, it seems that everything had been and continued to be done to maintain the blockade of Ciudad Rodrigo, and that if successful in bringing up the siege train, etc., the British commander believed himself to be in a position to attack the fortress on any day he pleased "without risk or inconvenience." At the same time whether Ciudad Rodrigo fell or not, he intended to transfer his operations southward by the end of February or beginning of March, 1812, when he hoped that his army would be healthy and in strength, and then, bringing the whole of his troops together, to make sure of securing possession of Badajoz.

On the 8th January Wellington issued his instructions² to his general officers commanding divisions consequent on the determination he had come to as to proceeding with the attack upon
1812 Ciudad Rodrigo; the 1st, 3rd, 4th and Light Divisions were to undertake the actual work of the siege, the 5th and 6th were to move to the neighbourhood of Almeida, the 7th was to occupy Fuente Guinaldo, while General Hill was recalled from the vicinity of Merida in Estremadura to Portalegre and Castello Branco so as to prevent any movement of the French "by the valley of the Alagon towards the frontiers of Lower Beira."

Mainwaring tells us³ that "it was with the greatest possible delight, although in the month of January, that we received orders to move to the front and cover the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo. We were cantoned in the village of Pajo in Spain, from whence we gave four officers' picquets to the front; the two most advanced were about two Spanish leagues from the village, posted on the top of mountain passes covered with snow six or seven feet deep; we suffered most dreadfully from cold, having to dig deep into the snow to make our fire, and then sitting crowded round it with our toes burning and our backs freezing; these picquet nights were most dismal and

¹ Gurwood, "*Despatches*," Vol. 8, p. 472.

² "*Ibid.*," p. 527.

³ "*Four Years of a Soldier's Life*," p. 519.

dreary, and the constant howling of wolves, though they never approached or molested us, added not a little to their horrors and gloominess. The duty was rather severe for we came on every third night, and I well remember the agreeable feelings and cordial welcome I used to give the officer who came to relieve me, and the look of utter despair depicted on his countenance when he looked round on the wintry and gloomy scene where he was destined to pass the next twenty-four hours ; these were two strong passes in the Sierra de Gaeta, through which the enemy might have passed to raise the siege."

Wheeler's description of this duty bears out what Mainwaring says, and he adds¹ that " we were almost naked, our clothes were wrecked by the fatigues of the former campaign, it was difficult to tell what regiment we belonged to as every man's coat was like Joseph's—a coat of many colours."

The 51st was still terribly weak ; the monthly return for January, 1812, shows a strength of twenty-four officers, twenty-three sergeants, eleven drummers and 274 rank and file, while there were sick three lieutenants, one ensign, one paymaster, sixteen sergeants, seven drummers and 220 rank and file, with four officers, three sergeants and twenty-six other ranks on command.

The officers present with the 51st at the opening of the campaign of 1812 were Lieut.-Colonel Mitchell, Major Rice, Captains Campbell, Phelps and McCabe, Lieutenants Hickie, Ross, Beardsley, Blake, Frederick, Percy, Minchin, Hare, Stephen, Kennedy, Dyas and Flamank, Ensigns Elliott, Simpson, de Visme, Whyte and Mainwaring, Ensign and Adjutant Jones, and Assistant-Surgeon Hamilton—this last officer having joined the regiment the previous autumn.

The siege of Ciudad Rodrigo was carried on with extraordinary energy, and on the 19th January the fortress was assaulted and captured, greatly to the consternation of Marmont, who was hurrying up some 40,000 men to confront the British on the Agueda, and who exclaimed that " never was such an operation pushed forward with the like activity."

On the 27th January Major Rice, writing home from Fuente Guinaldo, thus described what had been taking place :—" We quitted our Alpine abode yesterday and have approximated a little to Rodrigo. It was conjectured that upon the fall of that place the army would make some forward movement—Salamanca at least ; and some were so sanguine as to have flattered themselves to have spent the remainder of the winter at Madrid. Such an *événement* would be rather agreeable than otherwise, particularly to me, who am such an admirer of the Spanish signoras. We heard yesterday of the sad

¹ " *Journal*," p. 20.

reverses of the Spanish patriots under that obstinate old fool Blake, complete defeat and himself taken prisoner. Valencia is also fallen—to complete the tale of woe. The taking of Rodrigo will not compensate for so much disaster, as it is impossible, unless the Spaniards gain some ground, that our small aid can be of ultimate use. Rodrigo is fast being put into a state of defence. How it is to be garrisoned, or by what troops, I do not know—Spaniards, I presume. Our loss at Rodrigo has been rather severe as you will see by the Gazette. Two generals out of pocket, and poor Craufurd has died. He was wounded in the vitals, mostly fatal in such cases. Who would not be a soldier when so pleasant a fate is in store for him? We are all now pretty tranquil, and I suppose shall remain so for a short time—until Marmont, with his hordes, gets in motion.”

About the 2nd or 3rd February the 51st marched back to Pena Macor, where, as Wheeler remarks with much satisfaction, “we got our new clothing,” and left again on the 20th for the neighbourhood of Badajoz, upon the immediate reduction of which Wellington was determined. On the 28th the 7th Division crossed the Tagus at Villa Velha by the bridge of boats, “here,” to quote Mainwaring, “thrown over a most beautiful part of this fine river, which rushes rapidly and clearly between the most magnificent towering cliffs on which were always perched some eagles; the road to Niza, on the south side, winds up a mountain in the most romantic manner, and when covered with troops as I then saw it, the sun gleaming on their arms, the scene was beautiful.”

Estremoz was arrived at on the 4th March and on the next day Berba, where the Division halted for ten days or more. Marching on, Elvas was reached where the Division remained a day, the 51st bivouacking in an olive grove outside the town “and immediately beneath the famed Fort La Lippe, renowned as one of the strongest in Europe; the city of Elvas is large and finely situated, with a magnificent old Roman aqueduct in its neighbourhood which supplies it with water.”

The 1st, 6th and 7th Divisions had by this time been placed under the command of General Sir Thomas Graham, who had orders to watch the movements of d’Erlon and Soult, and for this purpose they crossed the Guadiana by a bridge of boats above Badajoz, moving to the neighbourhood of Llerena, then in occupation of the enemy. On the 25th March Graham, hearing that some of Drouet’s troops were in Llerena, caused an advance to be made in that direction by the 51st Regiment, two companies of the King’s German Legion, two light guns and a squadron of cavalry. “The day was a splendid one for such an attempt,” writes Mainwaring, “raining in torrents, and there is no doubt that had we kept off the main road, moved through the country, an open one, and not halted until dark, we should in all

probability have succeeded ; instead of which the Colonel, obeying orders (as I have since heard), moved upon the high road, halted at midday in a village, thus giving time for some false peasant to apprise them of our approach. At night we marched again intending to rush into the place at daybreak and catch them in their beds, but when day dawned and we reached our destination we found that the birds, as everyone expected, had flown, and we had had our long and fatiguing march for nothing." The enemy, three battalions of infantry and two regiments of cavalry, had withdrawn into the mountains, but the British, so relates Wheeler, made prisoners of a few men who had not retreated with their comrades.

Within a very few hours news was received that Soult with 5,000 men was marching upon Llerena, and the small British column was obliged in its turn to fall back, when the town was again occupied by the French.

Graham, however, was determined to dispossess them, and a few days later issued orders for an advance in force upon Llerena—the 7th Division on the main road, the 1st on its right, and the 6th Division in reserve. The advance guard of the 7th Division, says Wheeler, "consisted of two companies of the 51st, two companies of the light Germans and Brunswick Oels—in this order we proceeded accompanied with about two hundred dogs (it is well known how fond women and dogs are of following soldiers.)"

Major Rice gives the following account of the affair : "In one of our night rambles, when the whole force of our corps, 12,000 in number, was advancing upon Llerena, the heads of columns were thrown into confusion by an alarm of cavalry. A firing unfortunately began. Friends and not foes were shot. We expended two officers¹ and a private. It had like to have proved a business of the most serious character. The hero of Barrosa rowed us all most terribly for unsteadiness. The real fact is he himself was in fault, having been in front with a parcel of A.D.C.'s and Staff, and other tomfools ; not being in their places and gaping about, they came suddenly in contact with a French cavalry picket, upon which 'Damn it, I'm off,' was the word, full speed. Our advance gave them a fire and frightened their animals, who ran furiously between our columns. We mistook the business for a charge of cavalry, and unfortunately a fire ensued. Several generals were spilt and run down. The affair was ludicrous enough. I was at the head of the column, but escaped by my horse tumbling head and heels into a ditch—a species of good luck, for I was running the gauntlet."

The French again evacuated Llerena where the 7th Division remained some few days, moving on thence to Albuhera, and here the

¹ *Paymaster Gibbs wounded, Assistant Surgeon Hamilton killed.*

51st were encamped when, on the night of the 6th-7th April, the fortress of Badajoz was assaulted and captured with a loss of more than one-fourth of the assailants. Of this night Mainwaring, with the 51st at Albuhera, tells us¹ that it was "beautifully serene, the sky above us studded with stars, the ground beneath as far as the eye could reach covered with the fires of the tired soldiers, who gathered round them and talked in high spirits of the coming fight; for it was known that the French were within a day's march of us. We had all lain down to sleep and the fires that gleamed on our piled arms were all, save those of the picquets, fast expiring, the bivouac was hushed in silence, when suddenly the deep heavy roar of cannon burst upon the stillness of this lovely night. In an instant we were all roused, and the hum and buzz of thousands of voices were to be heard—'There they go!' 'They are at it now!'—'I trust they will succeed,' was in every one's mouth, and with feelings of the deepest interest and anxiety we listened to the now heavy roll of musketry, broken at short intervals with the frequent loud, deep reports of cannon that continued to come from the same quarter."

On the 10th April Major Rice, writing home "from Camp in front of the Albuhera River, Beresford's position of the late bloody fight,"² gave some account of recent events: "Since we crossed the Guadiana on the 16th March, this Corps d'Armée has been, I may say, unceasingly in motion, having made nearly the circuit of Southern Estremadura, the object of which was to force the French from the towns and positions they occupied and to throw every impediment in the way of concentration. In our numerous night marches, with a view to surprise, we have in general failed, owing to the very superior intelligence of our active enemy. Some good, however, may have resulted, though they very speedily retraced their steps, and yesterday they appeared in force within a league of this, but I believe nothing more than a strong reconnaissance of cavalry. Report now says they are off and our dragoons advancing, but it is of little consequence since they could not relieve Badajoz. This, I hope, will go by the packet which takes the intelligence of the capture of Badajoz by assault. The particulars of the gallant but bloody business you will have in a better shape than I can give you. It was the most awful and tremendous firing I ever heard. We have had the good luck to escape, though our labour and anxiety for this last twenty days has been such as to claim attention as assisting in the glorious cause. . . . An order has this moment arrived to move to our front, I suppose to give chase. Soult has heard of our success, and I believe has thought it advisable to face about."

¹ "U.S. Journal," 1844. Pt. 2, p. 521.

² "Life of a Regimental Officer," p. 191.

Soult was now in full retreat towards Seville, but Marmont, who had invaded Portugal during the siege of Badajoz, had reached Castello Branco; on Wellington advancing against him, however, Marmont fell back behind the line of the Agueda.

The 7th Division now retraced their steps to the Tagus, which was recrossed at Villa Velha, and finally reached Castello Branco on the 21st April. The following extracts from two letters by Major Rice give some details of the reasons for this movement.

In the first, written from Niza on the 19th April, he says:—"The morning after I last wrote to you we broke up from the position of Albuhera and made an advance movement on Santa Marta. Soult was within two leagues with 30,000. He made a little show with cavalry, but thought proper to retire with his infantry having heard of the fall of Badajoz. . . . I, and we all, thought of a chase; but no, for suddenly operations were changed. Our lord had heard that Marmont was playing the devil in the north, and had pushed on to Castello Branco and Villa Velha to destroy the bridge of boats. The latter was not actually done *by the enemy*, but in the general panic it was cut adrift, which has occasioned some trouble in restoring. . . . We are now going all hands pell-mell north as hard as we can. Several divisions have crossed the Tagus—our turn to-morrow. God knows what is going to be done as reports are so various. . . . We shall in a few days pass the Coa if Mr. Frenchman will permit. I expect opposition; at all events he will annoy and destroy the bridges. When we have arrived at Rodrigo, Soult will again show himself before Badajoz and down we shall come again, and so on until we are done up."

Then, writing again on the 22nd May from Castello Branco, Rice said: "Hill's corps has marched upon Almaraz to destroy the bridge across the Tagus. The object, it may be conjectured, is to prevent Marmont or anybody else crossing. I venture not to speculate further. What our lord is about I know not. Guinaldo is his headquarters. I suppose he is planning something great and glorious. Touching ourselves—the 7th Division—no talk of moves; an unusually long respite from toil, and much in favour of boots, shoes and horseflesh."

The command of the 7th Division had in this month undergone a change; on the 2nd May General Alten was transferred to the command of the Light Division, General John Hope succeeding him in the Seventh. De Bernewitz was still commanding the 2nd Brigade, and on the 22nd May he inspected the 51st Light Infantry at Castello Branco, when his Report contained the following remarks: ". . . The number of sick appear to originate from the Regiment having been in Walcheren, of which climate it feels the

effect. The Regiment has been in this country since 6th March, 1811. The officers, non-commissioned officers and men have not yet the Caps and Pantaloon as fixed upon by H.R.H. the Prince Regent, and are to receive a compensation for the clothing of the present year. The Great-coats in general are unserviceable.

"The Regiment has no Colours in the Country."

The Division remained at Castello Branco until early in June, when Wellington having, by the destruction of the bridge at Almaraz, made it practically impossible that reinforcements could reach Marmont, had made up his mind to attack that Marshal then strongly entrenched near Salamanca. We may let a soldier of the 68th¹ tell the story of the events of the first week in June.

"On the 4th we marched towards the frontiers anticipating that this campaign would produce something decisive and important. On the 5th we marched to Pedrogos, twenty-two miles; and on the 6th to Sabugal and encamped about half a mile from the town. This day's march was twenty-two miles, through a wild country full of woods and thickets. On the 7th the division halted, and found several French spies in the camp, one of whom was taken and, as I have heard, was executed on the spot. . . . On the 8th we moved off left in front, and about twelve o'clock arrived at Albergaria, distant twenty miles, and the weather being exceedingly hot, the men were very much fatigued. On the 9th we marched and encamped one league from a town, the name of which I never heard. This evening orders came that we were to be reviewed by his excellency the commander-in-chief. On the morning of the 10th we marched towards a plain nine miles distant, where the whole of the 7th Division, with three regiments of cavalry and one brigade of flying artillery, assembled.

"We formed in line, the 51st Regiment on the right of the infantry, the German brigade on the left; and on the right of the whole were the brigades of cavalry and artillery, the whole extending more than three miles. We waited an hour for his lordship, who then arrived, attended by the following officers—the Prince of Orange, Marshal Beresford, General Hope and a great number of aides-de-camp. His lordship and staff rode full speed to the centre of the division, and there took their stand; the ranks were already open, and the whole of the division gave a general salute from right to left, his lordship taking off his hat, and remaining uncovered all the time the bands of the different regiments were playing 'God save the King.' He then rode to the right of the division and passed along the front and up the rear of both infantry and cavalry. We then formed into open column, and marched past his lordship and staff.

¹ Green, "*Vicissitudes of a Soldier's Life*," pp. 85 and 86.

. . . We again formed into line and advanced in this position about four miles. . . . After we had manœuvred as long as Lord Wellington thought proper, we broke into columns of regiments and marched to our respective camp grounds ; the fatigues of this day were very great, continuing about ten hours."

On the 11th the Division halted, and on the next day marched to and encamped within three miles of Ciudad Rodrigo ; early on the morning of the 13th the Agueda was crossed and the march resumed in the direction of Salamanca, and on the 16th the enemy were discovered drawn up on some high ground in front of that place ; they retired, however, through the city and took up a position on the further side, leaving some 800 men in occupation of the forts, which were besieged by the 6th Division under Major-General Clinton. The 7th Division crossed the Tormes by a ford and the 51st encamped in a wood near the city.

On the 18th June Major Rice from " Camp, left bank of the Tormes, half a mile from Salamanca," wrote as follows : " We arrived before Salamanca on the 16th with little opposition ; skirmishing, principally with cavalry ; their advance posts all driven in. The Military *coup d'œil* was fine as the whole operations and effect could at once be seen. Marmont made some show of defence in the evening, but thought it prudent in the night to retire with his principal force. He has, however, left two works in the town garrisoned, which defend the passage of the bridge, and which cause therefore a temporary inconvenience, as all supplies for the army have to be carried round by the ford. One division of the army is in the town, and notwithstanding all the firing that is going on, the shops are open and everyone walking about as in times of the most profound tranquility. . . . We are now constructing batteries ; by to-morrow morning we hope they will be pounded out of their dens. Salamanca has been a fine town, the public buildings beautiful in the extreme, but most miserably dilapidated by the soft and gentle hand of war."

On the 19th June the French having assembled a force sufficient to attempt the relief of the forts, the British troops advanced and took up a position on a line of heights four miles from Salamanca ; here they were within long cannon range, and the 51st, from the hill they occupied, could see Marmont's army deployed. Neither side made any advance against the other and here the 51st remained on picquet until the morning of the 22nd, when they were relieved by a Portuguese battalion, but had hardly reached the bivouac of the brigade when the whole was again ordered under arms and, moving to the right front for about a mile, deployed and advanced up hill under a sharp musketry fire. " The enemy," writes Wheeler¹,

¹ " Journal," pp. 23 and 24.

"suspected by our conduct that they would soon feel our bayonets and thought proper to retire ; we advanced to the ground they had left, and as they were descending the hill we opened a smart fire on them. Some of our cavalry showed themselves which caused the enemy to form square, this gave us a fine opportunity to pepper them in grand style. We had two guns which did great execution ; the officer who commanded the (French) square was a true son of Mars, although he was under such a destructive fire he acted with the greatest coolness, always filling up the breaches made by us ; at last he was knocked off his horse. When the square retired out of range of our shot, we were ordered to lie down as it was not intended to bring on a general action. The enemy had opened several guns on us but they did no harm."

It is doubtless of this stage of the fight that one of the 68th writes :¹ "About twenty yards to our right the 51st Regiment was drawn up in line and being on their knees kept up a steady and well-directed fire on the enemy as they advanced. On the right of the 51st Light Infantry were six pieces of cannon which were thundering and pouring death upon the enemy."

We may let Wheeler of the 51st complete his account of the action : "Sergeant Batley had carried the rum in a camp kettle all this time, and as he sat up to give me mine, he was struck in the head by a musket shot, but as the ball had struck the brow of the hill before, he was only slightly wounded. In this affair Major Rice's horse was shot under him, and in a few minutes the Chasseurs Britanniques had stripped every bit of flesh off his bones, even to the fat off his guts." He adds that "on the 23rd in the afternoon the enemy fired three guns at random, one of which knocked a frying-pan off the fire as Colonel Mitchell's servant was cooking his dinner."

Wellington, in his despatch of the 25th June to the Earl of Liverpool, wrote that "our troops conducted themselves remarkably well in this affair, which took place in the sight of every man of both armies ;" and in the *London Gazette* of July 18, the losses in the 51st are given as, killed, one rank and file, wounded, one officer, three sergeants and fifteen rank and file. The officer was Captain Smellie, who is returned as "slightly wounded," the man killed was Private Thomas Griffin.

On the 27th June the Salamanca forts were captured or surrendered, and on the night of the same day Marmont, who had been an inactive witness of all the operations, withdrew his army towards the river Douro in three columns, one of them directing its march upon Toro, the two others upon Tordesillas.

The army followed the French, the weather was fine, the country,

¹ Green, "Vicissitudes of a Soldier's Life," p. 91.

so Green tells us, "exceedingly delightful, for, so far as the eye could see, all was a beautiful green," and the men were in the highest spirits. There does not appear to be any record of where the 51st was during the latter end of June and the first few days of July, but Wellington does not seem to have been altogether happy about the halting places of some of his divisions, and on the 3rd July he wrote to Graham saying :—"I am afraid that the 1st, 7th and 4th Divisions are in an unwholesome situation, and I have desired De Lancy to write to have the two former at least encamped at Medina del Campo, getting their water from the wells of the town." Graham appears, however, to have anticipated these orders and the 7th Division seems to have arrived at Medina del Campo on the 2nd or 3rd July, encamping on the north side of the town. But if the place was healthy and the water good, there appear to have been many other disagreeables, for Rice wrote on the 6th that "we have been wretchedly off for this some time ; scanty fare, bad biscuit, etc. The weather dreadfully hot by day, and cold by night, beyond what I ever experienced. We are lying in cornfields without the smallest covering. How the men stand this severe work is to me astonishing."

It was, however, a case of the survival of the fittest, and there were many sick. The Return for July shows a strength of twenty-six officers, twenty-five sergeants, thirteen drummers and no more than 277 rank and file ; while sick were six officers, fifteen sergeants, five drummers and 261 other ranks. It is true that on the 18th July one sergeant and forty-nine rank and file arrived from England in the *Regulus*, but these small and irregular reinforcements did not make up for the constant wastage from deaths, wounds and disease.

About this time Lieutenant John Ross was appointed to act as A.D.C. to Major-General Henry de Bernewitz.

By now Marmont had received reinforcements and, turning on the British, he forced them gradually back on Salamanca. Nava del Rey was reached on the 15th, and then from the 19th to the 21st the opposing armies manœuvred in close proximity. "The whole day of the 21st," so Mainwaring relates, "the two armies moved in sight of each other and within cannon shot. The scene was very beautiful ; the sound of a slight cannonade, with the musketry of the skirmishers, adding to its beauty, whilst the expectation which every man in both armies had of coming every instant into close and murderous conflict combined to shed an interest over it easily to be conceived but hardly possible to be described."

That night there was a terrible thunderstorm, and Mainwaring reminds us how many of Wellington's most glorious victories were preceded by a violent storm, and how often too—Salamanca, Vittoria

and Waterloo are cases in point—they were fought upon a Sunday.

"The dawn of the 22nd broke cloudless after the storm, and soon after light appeared Marmont rode up to the heights of Calvarassa de Arriba to reconnoitre his enemy. Within cannon shot to his front a single scarlet division—the Seventh—lay astride the road to Salamanca; three to four miles beyond it a smaller body, evidently part of the escort to the retreating baggage-train, was visible ascending the hill of Aldea Tejada; and far to the right the heights of San Christobal showed signs of a small occupying force. All the rest of the British Army was hidden by a range of hills which runs due south from the village of Santa Marta for over three miles, and is then broken for the space of a mile into the two flat-topped isolated hills known as the Arapiles."¹

During the night of the 21st-22nd the French had succeeded in gaining possession of the village of Calvarassa de Arriba and of the heights near it called Nuestra Senora de la Pena, and soon after daylight on the 22nd established themselves on the more distant (from the British) of the two Arapiles. The 7th Division seems to have been the first to be engaged, the 68th Light Infantry being sent forward to attack the enemy on the high ground known as Nuestra Senora de la Pena, while the 4th Division was ordered to take ground to the right, Wellington being still uncertain upon which side of the Tormes river Marmont's attack would develop. It appearing, however, that the French general designed to strike at the Ciudad Rodrigo road—the allied line of retreat to Portugal—Wellington sent the 3rd Division across the river out of sight of the enemy to a wood near Aldea Tejada, the 1st and Light divisions to confront the French at Calvarassa de Arriba, while the remainder were massed along the ridges running westerly from the village of Arapiles. Under cover of these dispositions Wellington began to send his baggage and supply train back to Ciudad Rodrigo, and Marmont, uncertain of the exact positions of the British and fearing lest they should retreat and escape him, pressed so eagerly forward to threaten the Ciudad Rodrigo road that he left a dangerous gap between his left and the rest of his army.

This gave Wellington the opportunity for which he had been waiting and of which he hastened to avail himself. To use his own words in his despatch of the 24th July: "I reinforced our right with the 5th Division under General Leith*, which I placed behind the village of Arapiles on the right of the 4th Division, and with the 6th and 7th Divisions in reserve; and as soon as these troops had taken their station, I ordered Major-General Pakenham to move forward

¹ *Fortescue*, Vol. 8, pp. 480, 481.

² *The 51st Regiment's Brigadier of Corunna Days*.

with the 3rd Division and General D'Urban's cavalry and two squadrons of the 14th Light Dragoons, under Lieut.-Colonel Hervey, in four columns, to turn the enemy's left on the heights; while Brig.-General Bradford's brigade, the 5th Division, under Lieut.-General Leith, the 4th Division under Lieut.-General Cole, and the cavalry under Lieut.-General Sir Stapleton Cotton, should attack them in front, supported in reserve by the 6th Division under Major-General Clinton, the 7th under Major-General Hope, and Don Carlos de España's Spanish division; and Brig.-General Pack should support the left of the 4th Division by attacking that of the Dos Arapiles which the enemy held. The 1st and Light Divisions occupied the ground on the left and were in reserve."

The effect of these movements was⁷ remarkable and resulted in an overwhelming and immediate victory: "So rapid were the movements, so instantaneous the onset, that it appeared as if the spirit of a mighty wizard had transformed itself into the whole host."¹ At the battle of Salamanca, as a Frenchman himself admitted, "Wellington defeated 40,000 men in forty minutes."

Here is Wheeler's account of what he saw of the action²: "On the morning of the 22nd we went into position on the left of the front line; the 68th Regiment was ordered to the front to skirmish, but the enemy would not come to a general action. About midday the enemy moved off to their left, and we broke into open columns of divisions right in front, moved to our right, and continued in this order a long time. When the fire of cannon became hot, we were obliged to form grand divisions to let the shot pass through us; we then advanced about three miles in double quick time, this raised such a dust that, together with the heat of the day, we were almost suffocated, and there was not a drop of water to be got. We came into position in the front of a hill where the enemy had several guns. Lord Wellington placed himself in front of the Regiment, where he remained a short time, and then rode away to our left. We advanced and soon perceived that the fire from the hill began to slacken—we afterwards learned that it had been charged by the heavy cavalry—we continued advancing but came not into action as the enemy were in full retreat in all points of their line. About 9 o'clock the fire began to die away, but was renewed again at ten and continued very hot for about half an hour. The loss of the Regiment was ten men killed and wounded.³ We encamped on the field and next morning advanced after the enemy."

¹ Alison, "*History of Europe*," Vol. 20, p. 59. 1848 Edition.

² "*Journal*," p. 25.

³ *Actually the loss of the 51st was only two rank and file wounded.*

The strength of the 51st this day was twenty-seven officers and 280 other ranks.

The French army was followed up as far as Valladolid, which was reached on the 30th July, and thence Wellington turned south, determined to consummate his recent victory by the occupation of Madrid. King Joseph, Napoleon's brother, fled from the capital on the approach of the British, and Mainwaring tells us of the entry of the 7th Division.

"The 12th of August, the anniversary of the Prince Regent's birthday, we entered the capital of Spain, and never in my life did I witness such a scene. No quiet John Bull can conceive the enthusiasm the people of Madrid displayed on that day. If we had been angels instead of men we could not have been better received. Our division was the first British one that entered, and our regiment being the head of the column had the good fortune to lead. The crowds gathered round us so quickly, that we could scarce move on; they seemed frantic with joy; every balcony, every window, was filled with beautiful women who showered down flowers upon our heads as we passed, and the air was rent with acclamations of 'Long live the brave scarlet fellows, our deliverers!'—'George for ever!'—'Wellington the brave, Wellington for ever!' But when Wellington himself came, no language can describe their feelings or enthusiasm. They fell on their knees to kiss the ground his horse's hoofs had pressed, and they deemed themselves fortunate if they could only touch his clothes. Never shall I forget our entrance."

Both Green of the 68th and Wheeler of the 51st seem to have been equally impressed with the warmth of their reception, and the latter states that there was an illumination of the city for three nights, adding significantly—"It was found necessary for the good of the Service to confine us to Barracks!"

There was yet some work for the 7th Division, for the Retiro, a citadel or fortress commanding the city, filled with stores of all kinds and containing a garrison of some 2,000 Frenchmen, still held out. On the evening of the 13th the men of the 51st and 68th were on parade and about to be dismissed to their billets, the officers looking forward to a ball to be given that night in honour of Lord Wellington, when an order was received that the Retiro was to be attacked. "In the night detachments of the 7th Division of infantry under the command of Major-General Hope, and of the 3rd Division of infantry under the command of Major-General the Hon. E. Pakenham, drove in the enemy's posts from the Prado and the Botanical Garden and the works which they (the French) had constructed outside of the Park wall; and having broken through the wall in different places, they were established in the palace of the Retiro,

and close to the exterior line of the enemy's works enclosing the building called La China. The troops were preparing in the morning to attack these works preparatory to the arrangements to be adopted for the attack of the interior line and building, when the Governor sent out an officer to desire to capitulate."¹

By a curious coincidence among the spoils of the Retiro were the Eagles of the 13th and 51st French Regiments of the Line.

In this operation the 51st Light Infantry had but one casualty—a private wounded in the thigh, "to whom," says Wheeler, "the Spaniards behaved uncommonly well for they were always bringing him dainties and money."

About the 17th or 18th August the whole army, with the exception of the 1st and 3rd Divisions and a cavalry brigade left in Madrid, marched to El Escorial, 32 miles north-west of the capital, and here the force remained until the 1st September, when the 1st, 5th and 7th Divisions, two brigades of Portuguese and two of cavalry were ordered to march to Arevale *en route* to Valladolid, which town, with Tordesillas, the French had occupied in great force.

The 51st left Escorial early on the morning of the 1st September, arrived at Arevale on the 3rd, on the 4th reached Olmedo, and on the 7th found themselves in the neighbourhood of Valladolid and within sight of the enemy, who fell back slowly followed by the British until Burgos was reached on the 18th. On the following day Burgos was invested by the 1st, 5th, 6th and 7th Divisions with two Portuguese brigades, and within a very few hours an outwork was captured though not without considerable loss on the side of the British—mainly in the 1st Division.

On the 21st the 7th Division marched round and encamped on the other side of the city, and during the investment, which lasted for thirty-three days, the Division was occupied in watching the country between Burgos and Vittoria, and remained encamped near Olmos until the 14th October, on which date, so Green of the 68th tells us, "Our Regiment and the 51st left the camp above mentioned, and advanced to two small villages called Upper and Lower Monasterio on the left of the Vittoria road. . . . Here we had very strong guards to mount and a regular working party, who were employed in building a breast-work across the valley in order to check the advance of the enemy, who we expected would make an attempt to raise the siege of Burgos."

On the 20th the 7th Division had a brisk skirmish with the enemy, but the 51st Regiment does not seem to have suffered any loss on this occasion, or indeed during the whole of the operations about Burgos; and on the next day, the 21st October, the retreat began,

¹ Wellington to Earl Bathurst, Madrid, 15th Aug., 1812.

Wellington having decided to abandon the siege on learning that a French army of over 40,000 men was marching down upon him.

The retreat from Burgos was in some respects not unlike that to Corunna ; the weather was very severe, the enemy pressed the pursuit with vigour, the rivers were in flood, and on one occasion at least the troops gave way to acts of serious indiscipline. At Duernas there were huge wine vaults filled with wine from the vintage just gathered, and by some oversight no sentries had been mounted over the vaults. " The soldiers, consequently, so soon as their arms were piled, rushed in in clouds, broke open the doors and drank to excess. Some of them were found dead, literally drowned in wine, it having overflowed in the cellars and suffocated the poor wretches who were too drunk to escape. Next morning at daybreak, when we stood to our arms to recommence our march, the scene was one perhaps without parallel in the annals of military history, for I scarcely exaggerate when I say that, with the exception of the officers, the whole army was drunk. We at last moved off the ground although the men, overpowered and stupefied with wine, could scarce totter along—some lay down and could hardly be persuaded to move."

On the 26th October the 7th Division reached Valladolid, where a halt of two or three days was called, and the Division was told off to secure and hold the bridges of Simancas, Valladolid and Tordesillas so as to ensure Wellington's retreat across the Douro ; the 51st Regiment was responsible for the bridge at Valladolid, which had been prepared for demolition.

On the 28th the French came down and attempted to force the bridges at Simancas and Valladolid, and here is Wheeler's account of the share of the defence of the latter by his regiment¹. " At Valladolid the Regiment was encamped near the bridge ; the morning after our arrival the enemy brought some guns, on high ground on the opposite bank in front of our camp, which they opened on the Regiment. Sergeant Maibey's wife was killed by the first shot they fired—it carried away her right arm and breast, her husband had just left her in the camp to mount picquet ; the Spaniards buried the body in one of their chapels. A smart fire was now opened on the bridge, which was defended by a picquet of the Regiment, covered by the remainder. The bridge was kept until the whole of the army and baggage was on the move, when it was blown up. The baggage retreated on the bank of the river about two leagues and the enemy kept up a heavy fire on us all the way. A great deal of baggage was lost, several horses and mules were killed, and several ran away, the loss of the Regiment at the bridge of Valladolid was three rank and

¹ " *Journal*," p. 31.

file killed, Lieutenant Hickie lost his right arm,¹ and thirteen rank and file wounded."²

On the 29th or 30th the army continued its march to Tordesillas, halting at this place for some days, and here Major Rice wrote home an account of recent happenings. His letter is written from "Camp before the Bridge of Tordesillas, left bank of the Douro," and dated 5th November. "You will not fail to perceive," he writes, "that our movements of late have been retrograde—I won't call it in this place *retreating*. . . . My last short and hasty, though brilliant, display of matter was from Monasterio. The following day we were pushed in very gallantly (by superior force understood): our loss not great and we committed some havoc among the legions—hats and wigs cheap enough. The great superiority of the enemy in all the arms of war, I suppose, upon reconnaissance, decided his lordship on raising the siege of Burgos and falling back. The fact of the matter is we are doing too much for our means, and, *entre nous*, are lucky in getting clear off. Our movements have been rapid and not a little pressed; fine destruction of bridges, etc.; in fact, all the agreeables attending retrograde movements, or, as Soult calls them, *to the flank*."

"Our division defended the front of Valladolid to retard the enemy. Our regiment lost a few men; a poor woman, singularly enough, was killed by the first cannon ball fired, and an officer minus an arm. Two officers of ours have also died this week.³ Our sufferings have not been a little; the weather horribly cold and wet; not once under cover for these last two months. The poor soldiers dreadfully off; but I must not depict all the miseries, the truth must not be told at all times. . . . The whole army is now encamped in an immense vineyard, as far as the eye can reach, and the river between us and Mr. Frenchman. Our people chat across while going for water or washing. . . . Hill's corps has quitted the Tagus and is moving upon us."

On the 6th November the army marched to Salamanca, and here on the 10th Hill's corps joined, and the united force marched for Ciudad Rodrigo. "The weather breaking into the depth of winter, became villanously bad; the rain poured in torrents; our baggage, not to encumber our retreat, was sent forward, and thus, without comforts of any kind, we suffered more during the week between Salamanca and Ciudad Rodrigo than at any other period since our

¹ Taken out at the socket.

² The "London Gazette," of the 3rd December, 1812, gives only one rank and file killed, one lieutenant and four rank and file wounded; the private killed was John Coughan.

³ Quartermaster Mills on 11th October at Valladolid and Lieut. Wilson on 28th October at Salamanca.

departure from Burgos. After wading all day through muddy roads, saturated with rain, we arrived on our ground at night wet and tired, glad of a piece of tough, lean beef, roasted on the end of a bayonet, without bread or spirits. We lay down on the wet grass to snatch a few hours sleep gained only by downright fatigue, and awaking next morning with our heads perhaps pillowed in a puddle of mud, we were glad to fall in and pursue our comfortless march, cheered by the hope that it was drawing to a close. The enemy were close at our heels, and at San Munos we had a smart skirmish and lost a captain (McCabe) and some men; here my poor friend closed his military career, and was buried by his comrades, whilst the balls of the foe were whistling about their ears and hurrying them at their work. On one of these days General Paget, from some mistake about the road, was taken, and the General of our Division, Lord Dalhousie, lost his baggage by a bold and successful dash of a few French dragoons, that absolutely cut it out from between two divisions and escaped unhurt. Our sufferings in this retreat were very great, and great in proportion was our joy at the sight of the walls of Ciudad Rodrigo, as from thence we quietly took up our quarters in the different villages and towns of Portugal." The casualties among the 51st in the affair at San Munos were Captain McCabe killed, one sergeant and seven other ranks wounded.

This mention of Lord Dalhousie as commander of the 7th Division seems to require a few words of explanation. On September 23rd General Hope resigned the command owing to his health, the Earl of Dalhousie being appointed in his place on the 25th October, the Division thus being just a month without a commander. During this time Lieut.-Colonel Mitchell, of the 51st, seems to have held command of the 1st Brigade, though, curiously enough, there does not appear to be any allusion to this in the letters of Major Rice. Lieutenant Elliott, 51st, officiated as aide-de-camp to Colonel Mitchell during this period. In December there was some change in the composition of the Division, the 1st Battalion 6th Foot from home being posted to the 1st Brigade, and the 1st Battalion 82nd from the 4th Division being added to the 2nd Brigade. In this month also the Light Battalions King's German Legion, were transferred to the 1st Division, and a battalion, made up from the second battalions of the 24th and 58th, to the 1st Brigade, 7th Division.

This arrangement for making up provisional battalions by the transfer of the effectives of certain weakened regiments into four companies of each of those battalions, the remaining officers and men being sent home, was announced in a letter of the Duke of Wellington to the Duke of York dated the 6th December, 1812. In the same letter the Duke proposed, and repeated his proposals

a fortnight later, that the same principle be applied to the 51st and 68th Regiments, sending home the officers and N.C.O.'s of four companies of each, but retaining them both as separate six-company battalions. The Duke of York does not seem to have approved of any of these proposals, but those already carried out, *e.g.*, the formation of certain provisional battalions such as that containing the second Battalions of the 24th and 58th, he allowed to stand. He does not appear to have given any sanction to Wellington's proposals as to the 51st and 68th.¹

The Monthly Return of the 51st dated 25th December was compiled apparently at a place called Mongualdo de Serra, but for the greater part of the winter of 1812-13 the headquarters of the Regiment was at Moimento. This return shows the strength of the Regiment as one lieutenant-colonel, one major, four captains, eleven lieutenants, three ensigns, one paymaster, one adjutant, one surgeon, twenty-five sergeants, twelve drummers and 281 other ranks; while there were sick two captains, four lieutenants, one ensign, two assistant surgeons, sixteen sergeants, five drummers and 253 other ranks. It will be seen that the wastage of the 51st was far too heavy to be made up by the small drafts available; all that these sufficed to do was slightly to reduce the proportion of effectives to sick. Thus, in September the effective rank and file only numbered 226 while there were 295 sick. Then the arrival on the 23rd October of two sergeants and eighty-five rank and file *per* the transport *Montreal* from England was just enough to make the number of effectives in December slightly to outbalance the number of sick.

The one major present with the headquarters in this month was Major Roberts, who had rejoined on the 19th September; Major Rice appears to have rather broken down in health and proceeded to England on leave in December.

During the year 1812 three men had deserted, while five sergeants and ninety-one other ranks had died. The Casualty Returns show Sergeant Piercy taken prisoner, 27th November, 1812, "not since heard of, supposed to be dead."

The winter seems to have passed very pleasantly; Mainwaring tells us there was plenty of riding and coursing, that they were at least sheltered from wind and rain, and that their "only annoyance was an occasional forage party across the Estrella mountain for provender for the animals—excursions which lasted three or four days." Then another correspondent² with the British Army remarks on the number of officers who had gone home on leave, adding that "some officers went to England for the purpose of seeing their own wives,

¹ See Gurwood, Vol. 9, and "Suppl. Despatches," Vol. 7, p. 524 and 552.

² "Military Panorama," Vol. 2, p. 167.

that was prudent—some went to see other men's wives—and many went to prevent other men seeing their wives ! ”

The same writer adds—“ The different divisions of the army are very gay, the Seventh in particular. The officers of the 51st Light Infantry have established weekly races, a club room, coffee room, fives court and reading room. I shall give you the establishment of the first.

Stewards : Major Roberts and Captain Keyt.

Judge : Captain Kelly.

Clerk of the Course : Lieutenant Beardsley.¹

The first spring meeting of the Moimento Races was particularly well attended. The Earl of Dalhousie, Sir John Doyle, and a numerous party of Portuguese and British officers were present. The following bill of fare may amuse you.

Major Roberts' bay mare, *Countess*, beat Captain Kelly's chestnut horse, *Slyboots* ; one mile heat, *Countess* the favourite.

Surgeon Read's Portuguese horse, *Lancet*, beat Captain Byrne's grey horse, *Dashaway* ; one mile heat, *Dashaway* the favourite but having bolted, was distanced.

Major Roberts' *Brown Bob* beat the Assistant Commissary's grey horse, *Wagtail*—odds five to four on *Brown Bob*.

Sweepstakes of Country Horses—all ages.

Captain Smellie's <i>Bonny Robin</i>	1
Lieutenant Jones' <i>Corsair</i>	2
Lieutenant Simson's <i>Doctor</i> —	3
Captain Douglas's <i>Rockaway</i>	4

Hard running between *Bonny Robin* and *Corsair*.

A Silver Cup for Mules.

Paymaster Gibb's <i>Money-Bag</i>	1
Lieutenant Minchin's <i>Pat</i>	2
Lieutenant Frederick's <i>Beau</i>	3
Captain Keyt's <i>Nimble Dick</i>	4

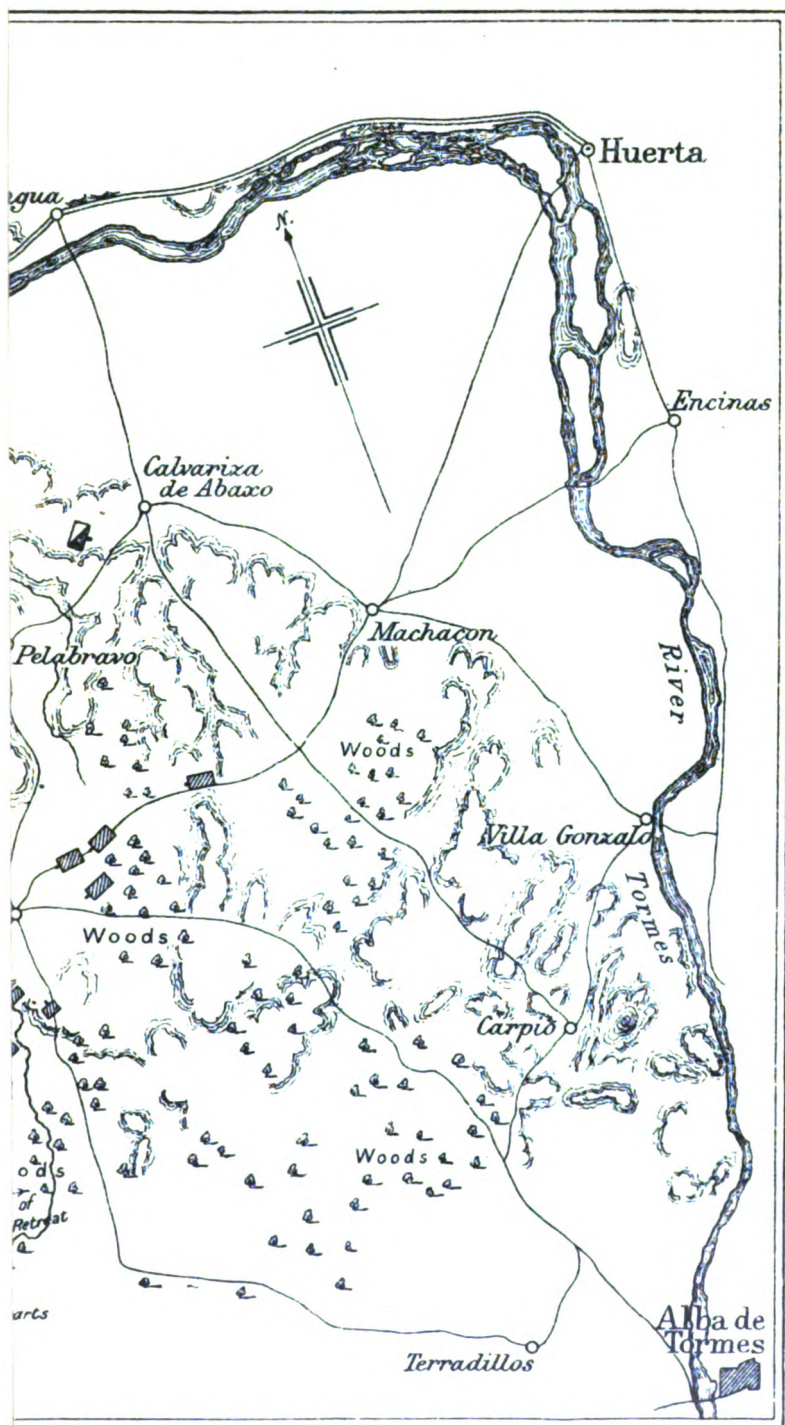
A hard race and showed much sport.

After the race the officers all sat down to a handsome dinner provided on the occasion. After which there was a grand ball, the officers having provided the ladies of the village and its vicinity with shoes and stockings. The second meeting will be held on Wednesday, the 3rd March.

N.B.—An auction on the race-ground for horses, mules, dogs, donkeys, etc.”

Lieut.-Colonel Mitchell was one of those who went on leave, as appears from the remarks of Major-General de Bernewitz when he

¹ All 51st Officers.



inspected the 51st Regiment "at Moimento in Portugal" on the 27th January, 1813. He also wrote, "The only major present with the Regiment (Major Roberts), although he lost his arm from wounds at the Battle of Corunna, fulfils his duty in a manner that deserves to be favourably noticed.

"The Quartermastership is vacant from the death of Mr. Mills.

"A Regimental hospital is now established at Moimento, the Surgeon of the Regiment, Mr. Webster, is in charge.

"The Regiment has no Colours in this country.

"The Regiment has been completely clothed for the year commencing 25th December, 1812.

"No Chaplain with the 7th Division. No school could be established (for the regimental children) in consequence of the unsettled state of the Regiment in this country."

VITTORIA, THE PYRENEES, NIVELLE AND ORTHES

1813-1814

XIV

THE early months of 1813 were passed in preparing for the campaign which was to drive the French from Spain and pursue them into France, and the Duke of Wellington took steps for improving the discipline of his troops which the retreat from Burgos showed to have sensibly declined; equipment was renewed and the regiments were exercised under their divisional generals and brigadiers. During their long rest in winter quarters the miseries and trials of the previous campaign had been forgotten by the troops, and already by the end of April all ranks were eagerly looking forward to new scenes, fresh encounters, and final and complete victory.

1813

The 51st was in April certainly healthier than it had been in the previous December, but it was still anything but a really strong battalion. The Monthly Return of the 25th of April shows that there were present and effective one major, five captains, eleven lieutenants, four ensigns, one paymaster, one adjutant, one quartermaster, thirty-four sergeants, seventeen drummers and 381 rank and file. The sick—five sergeants, one drummer and 123 other ranks—were distributed in five different places; one captain, four lieutenants, four sergeants and nineteen rank and file were on command; and on leave were one lieut.-colonel, one major, two lieutenants, one ensign, the surgeon and both his assistants. One lieut.-colonel and one subaltern were employed on the staff, and another subaltern was doing duty with a different corps. One sergeant and thirty-eight other ranks had arrived from England on the *Neptune*, transport, on the 27th December. Two captains and one subaltern are shown in the return as absent without leave.

De Bernewitz resigned command of his brigade on the 18th April and nobody was appointed to succeed him for upwards of a month, and when on the 11th May the 7th Division was inspected by the Earl of Dalhousie, the brigade in which the 51st was serving was commanded by Colonel Grant of the 82nd Foot.

For the operations now about to commence, Wellington had the choice of three lines of operations—by the valley of the Douro, by that of the Tagus, or by Avila, north of the Sierra Guadarrama.

But while the French centre was very strong, the country to the south was barren of supplies, and their right was covered by a wild and mountainous region apparently impassable by a large force of all arms. But Wellington had formed the opinion that this country *could* be traversed, and he made up his mind to send a force under General Graham to move up the right banks of the rivers Douro and Esla, forming a junction with the Spaniards in Galicia and turning the French right, while Wellington himself intended, with Hill, to advance from the line of the Agueda and force the passage of the Tormes.

Graham's force was composed of five cavalry brigades, six infantry divisions and two unattached Portuguese brigades; he advanced with these formed in three columns, the extreme right column being composed of the 6th and 7th Divisions and the newly-formed Hussar brigade, with the 4th Division slightly in rear. On the 14th May the 7th Division marched towards the Douro and on the 15th the Brigade under Grant passed through Celerico and took the road for Trancosa. The marches were short, the weather fine, the country new and beautiful, while the regiments were entering upon this campaign better equipped than in 1812, for new tents had been issued at Moimento and also new camp-kettles, one to every mess of six men. On the 16th the troops were at Castel Rodrigo, while the next day's march brought the brigade to the Douro at Villa Nova, where, on the 18th, the 51st crossed over in boats, encamping at Villa Toro on the road to Miranda, near which place a halt was made for three or four days. By May 24th, then, the left wing under General Graham occupied a front of some forty miles, from Braganza on the left to Miranda de Douro on the right, the line passing through Outeiro and Vimioso.

The monthly return for May of the 51st Regiment shows that on the 25th they were in "camp near Malhados," and while halted the division was inspected by Sir Thomas Graham and Lord Dalhousie on successive days.

On the 26th the force moved on, the Portuguese frontier was soon after crossed, and on the 29th Graham's three columns, covered by his cavalry, were overlooking the Esla, their front being now contracted to 12 miles as the French were known to be in force in the neighbourhood.

Here there was a further halt, the 51st being apparently encamped near Carbajales, some few miles from the fords of the Esla, the Hussar brigade on a wooded ridge in front overlooking the river.

While halted at the Esla, Wellington seems to have visited Graham and given orders that a pontoon bridge should be thrown across, and that to cover this operation a passage should also be effected

at the ford of Almendra at daybreak on the 31st May ; but knowing that the enemy was in possession of the further bank, it was decided to push a small force of all arms across during the dark hours of the 30th-31st.

The column detailed for this operation was composed of the Hussar brigade, a troop of Horse Artillery, the 51st Regiment and a battalion of the Brunswick Oels. The infantry, being furthest from the river, marched at midnight, the cavalry and guns at 1 a.m.

Captain Thackwell's squadron of the 15th Hussars was the first to enter the river, accompanied by some companies of the 51st, while a corporal of the 18th Hussars acted as guide for the ford. The story of the crossing may be told in the words of Ensign Mainwaring, who nearly lost his life. "The men were ordered to place their pouches on their heads, and each soldier to hold the stirrup of a dragoon, who, keeping on the upper side of the current, was thus in some measure to break its force. Thus arranged, with beating heart I entered the stream and with some difficulty contrived to get across the first part ; for, fording at a spot where it formed two islands in the centre, I thought on my arrival at the first of these that all was over, and congratulated myself on my safety ; what was then my despair at seeing another deep and broad channel before me. I stood irresolute for a few moments, the troops were still moving on ; several of the men and some horses by this time were carried away by the stream, and were struggling in vain to save themselves from drowning. Whilst thus hesitating, some shots were fired on the opposite side by those who had crossed ; and thinking that my regiment was engaged and ashamed to remain behind, I seized hold of a dragoon's stirrup and rushed into the water, but in vain ; for in less than a second I was swept off my legs, and found myself laid hold of by two drowning Brunswickers, who in their agony caught at me, and thus rendered all my struggles to save myself unavailable. After disappearing under water and coming up several times, I gave myself up for lost, when one of the 15th Hussars plunged in after me, exclaiming, as I was afterwards told, ' By G —, the fine boy shall not be drowned if I can save him ! ' He reached me just in time to save my life, and grasping my collar, dragged me to the shore ; there, in a short time, with the assistance of some rum, which an Irish corporal of my own regiment poured down my throat, I speedily recovered. The noble fellow who, under God, saved my life, after rescuing several others, fell a victim to his own intrepidity, and was drowned by his horse falling backwards as he attempted to climb up the banks of the river."

Major Roberts also tells us what he saw of the crossing of the

Esla¹: "The river, at all times rapid, by the melting of the snow was swollen two feet in depth and its current raged with increased velocity; one hundred men of the 51st were advanced with the advance of the Hussars and passed at the ford with safety but drenched with water; the two corps (51st and Brunswickers) followed and it was directed that an infantry soldier should hold by the stirrup-leather of a Hussar. Whether it was the anxiety to pass the ford or some other cause, such was the press to enter the river that the ford was lost, and in one minute were to be seen Hussars scrambling, their horses now on a rock, next minute plunging overhead, the infantry dragged hanging at the stirrups and horses' tails; some by a jerk or a kick lost their hold and were struggling with the torrent, others borne by the rapid current sank never to rise more; others happily were cast on bits of islands. Hussars were seen plunging to get up the bank, dragging three or four infantry half-drowned, so convulsed as to keep their grasp. Men's caps, knapsacks floating down the stream; but the attachment of one light infantry soldier to his firelock was astonishing, for he was seen by an officer who rode to the brink of the rock. As the man floated down the stream, supported as he lay on his back by his knapsack, the officer said to him: 'Can you swim?' 'No, your Honour.' 'Then throw away your firelock.' 'No, your Honour, I'll bring she to shore with me, I won't part with she.' Fortunately the current bore him so near to the rock that the officer could reach his bayonet and the man was saved.

"On this occasion it is not in words to give an adequate idea of the gallant and humane conduct of the Hussars. . . During the time of passing the river Esla, I have every reason to believe the men of the Hussars that were drowned on this occasion died victims to their humanity. And it was admirable to see those gallant fellows, when landed and free from the grasp of the poor infantry, spring forward to ascend the hill with an ardour to attack an enemy they were instructed to expect would oppose them."

Major Griffith, of the 15th Hussars, wrote in his diary²: "At one time I counted seven horses and I should think twenty men, hurried along by the current and struggling for life. Before these recovered the shore, others were in a similar horrid situation. Never did I behold so distressing a scene, never shall I forget the agonizing looks and cries of the poor infantry, who, loaded with their arms and accoutrements, struggled as long as they were able and then yielded themselves to their fate."

¹ The "Military Adventures of Johnny Newcome," p. 152.

² "The Fifteenth Hussars," p. 185.

Wheeler says that Lieutenant Hamilton, of the 51st, was another of those saved by a man of the 15th Hussars, and that "had it not been for the Hussars two-thirds of us would have been drowned." The men of the Regiment who lost their lives by drowning numbered nine; they were Privates Woodhouse, Pike, Marsden, King, Hodge, Goodwin, Goldrick, Pearcey and Willis.

When the time came for the remainder of the 7th Division to pass the Esla, the pontoon bridge had been thrown across, all opposition had been swept aside, and the rest of the troops crossed dry-shod.

On the 1st June the columns marched in the direction of Toro, and on the 2nd, in the neighbourhood of that town, the 6th and 7th Divisions were inspected by the Duke of Wellington. On the 13th the force arrived within some 18 to 20 miles of Burgos, to learn that the French had blown up the Castle and had withdrawn to Pancorbo *en route* to Vittoria, where King Joseph hoped to make a stand.

On the 16th June the 7th Division crossed the Ebro in the neighbourhood of Miranda, and during these marches both Wheeler of the 51st and Green of the 68th make bitter complaint of the shortcomings of the commissariat, there being no ration of bread for ten days at a time, wheat being issued as a substitute, while the meat ration too was limited in quantity and poor in quality.

The Army was now within little more than a march of Vittoria, where the French had taken up a position as follows: two cavalry brigades and two infantry divisions were posted on the upper Zadora to defend the passage from the direction of the Bilbao road; further to the south was another force with its right on the Zadora, its centre on high ground near the village of Arinez and its left in rear of Subijana de Alava; in rear of this was a second line, while the reserve, most of the cavalry, and many guns were held back about Vittoria. By some inexcusable oversight none of the Zadora bridges had been destroyed, there was a wide and dangerous gap between the two front line bodies, while the main line of retreat was already threatened by Graham's advance, and the road itself was choked by a mass of transport containing the public impedimenta and the private plunder of the French army.

Wellington decided to form four columns of attack; the right under Hill was to move across the Zadora upon the Puebla heights, the right and left centre columns were directed upon Nanclores and were under Wellington's personal command, while the left column under Graham moved from Murguia near the Bayas River by the Bilbao road to the north of Vittoria.

The 7th Division had lately formed part of the force under Hill, containing also the 2nd and 6th British divisions, two divisions of

Spaniards and four cavalry brigades ; but for the purposes of the coming battle Lieutenant-General Lord Dalhousie had been given the immediate command of the left centre column moving upon Nanclares and composed of the 3rd and 7th Divisions. In "the Arrangement for the Movement of the Army on the 21st June, 1813,"¹ it is directed that "the 3rd Division followed by the 7th Division will move (marching by the left of the divisions) at daybreak, and will proceed by the village of Anda, and thence (turning to the right) towards the village of Los Guetos, on the road from Anda to Vittoria. On approaching Los Guetos this column will throw out detachments to the right towards Nanclares to put itself in communication with the detachments of the column marching upon that village."

"On the afternoon of the 20th," so Wheeler tells us,² "Major Roberts came round the camp and in a manner peculiarly his own, with a smile, said to us, 'Well, boys, how get ye on? have ye any bread to give away?' We told him we had no bread but if old Bob (his favourite horse) wanted any corn we could supply him with plenty. The Major replied, 'Never mind, boys, we will have plenty of bread to-morrow by this time.' The next morning we advanced and knew there was game in front, as the Major had got his long green feather mounted."

Mainwaring's account³ of the doings of the Regiment at Vittoria may now be followed: "At daybreak of that famous morn we struck our tents as usual, formed the line of march, and, although the night had poured with rain and there had been heavy thunder, we began our journey with very fine weather. We had not proceeded above two or three miles when we heard that the enemy were in position somewhere in front, and it was rumoured that we might expect an immediate action. That day the division marched left in front and our brigade was consequently the rear one; but an Aide-de-Camp came galloping up with orders for us to leave the division and strike into a road leading through a wood to the right. We had not yet heard a shot, or seen anything indicating the vicinity of a foe, when suddenly the deep, heavy roar of a single cannon came booming through the air, then another, and another. Till this moment the men had been marching in the most perfect silence, but an instantaneous and simultaneous buzz of voices burst forth; they were in a moment all life and animation, and apparently eager to be in the midst of the now continuous roar of cannon, mingled with a sharp cracking fire of musketry, evidently not far from us. We halted for

¹ *Supplementary Despatches*, Vol. 7, p. 652.

² "Journal," p. 36.

³ "United Service Journal," 1844. Pt. 3, p. 224 et seq.

a moment ; some one wanted Colonel Grant, of the 82nd, who commanded the brigade, to get a guide. The answer was worthy of the brave old fellow that made it—' Guide ! I want no guide ; the fire is guide enough for us.' The bugles sounded the advance, we soon cleared the wood, and the scene of battle, to which we were hurrying with rapid pace, lay right before us. The beautiful city of Vittoria, of which we could but just discern the spires, was in our front, and a little to the right the position of the enemy discovered itself by the dark heavy masses of men seen in columns here and there, with the villages on their right and left, so strongly contested during the day. Our post, the centre of the army, was at this moment occupied by the gallant Picton and his brave division. It was a cheering and beautiful sight. The sun shone out upon a brigade of those troops advancing in line with their Colours displayed, covered by their skirmishers. Ourselves in the background issuing in close column from the dark wood behind, now rapidly deploying into line under a battery of guns on an eminence and which fired over our heads as we then advanced. Crossing the Zadora river, we soon found ourselves in line with General Colville's brigade of the 3rd Division, under the heaviest fire of cannon I ever remember. Round shot, grape, and howitzer shells soon began to tell amongst us ; we were so close that we could see the mustachios of the French artillerymen as the smoke cleared away after every discharge of cannon.

" Under this tremendous fire the brigade suffered ; the gallant veteran that commanded it was struck to the earth ; he rode a white horse, and placing himself in front of the Colours of the 82nd, his cocked hat square to the front, his drawn sword in his hand, he was an object not easily to be missed. Nor can I easily forget my own commanding officer (that day Major Roberts), with the bridle of old Bob on the stump of an arm that had been left on the battle-field of Lugo, and his sword in the other, the fine old soldier laughed, cheered, and encouraged the men, who were galled and impatient at being obliged to remain so long stationary under this heavy cannonade, though they were commanded to lie down. At length the word was given—' Up, soldiers—steady,' and in an instant we expected to be in close contact with a very heavy mass of French infantry, about a hundred and fifty yards off, their drums beating the *pas de charge* as they advanced to attack us. They were at least five times our numbers, and the collision would have been tremendous, when they were suddenly halted, we saw an officer ride up, and upon his giving some order they immediately wheeled about, threw out a cloud of skirmishers and off they went. The artillerymen now left their guns and the enemy giving way in every direction, we rapidly pushed forward in pursuit, and soon found that both their flanks had been

turned, thus accounting for the sudden and rapid retreat of the centre with which we had been engaged, and giving us the most complete victory we had yet achieved in the Peninsula."

The above gives the impressions of the regimental officer, describing what came within his own immediate purview, and may be thus supplemented: the battle was already joined, Graham's guns on the extreme left having opened the action, Hill had seized the village of Subijana de Alava, Graham was moving in a wide turning movement upon the enemy's communications, and Wellington's main attack had crossed the Morillas heights and was approaching the bridges over the Zadora, when—something past noon—the first brigade of the 7th Division moved forward for the assault on the French centre. The 3rd and 7th Divisions moved rapidly down to the Mendoza bridge, which was crossed by part of the 3rd Division in face of heavy musketry and gun fire, while the remainder and the 7th Division crossed the river higher up. The 7th Division was then heavily engaged with the French right in front of the villages of Margarita and Hermandad, gave valuable assistance to a brigade of the 3rd Division opposed by superior French forces, and then, advancing again, assailed the hill of Arinez incurring many casualties. The 1st Brigade, 7th Division, now, by order of Lord Dalhousie, advanced to the summit of the hill, moved through a wood where it was badly galled by infantry fire, and finally had to shelter in a deep ditch almost under the French guns.

In other parts of the field the Allies had been equally successful, the French left and centre fell back broken, and the retreat was ordered. Darkness alone saved the French from annihilation.

In this great battle the losses of the 51st amounted to Lieut. J. S. Percy, Sergeants Stothers and Beecham, Privates Chandler, Major, Gregg, Short, Binns, Hargrave, Dewhurst and Caisley killed; Ensign and Adjutant Jones, three sergeants and seventeen other ranks wounded.¹

In his despatch of June 22nd Wellington wrote that "It was impossible for the movements of any troops to be conducted with more spirit and regularity than those of these respective divisions of Lieutenant-Generals the Earl of Dalhousie, Sir Thomas Picton, Sir Lowry Cole, and Major-General Charles, Baron Alten. . . . Major-General the Hon. C. Colville's brigade of the 3rd Division was seriously attacked in its advance by a very superior force, well formed; which it drove in, supported by General Inglis's brigade of

¹ These figures of killed and wounded are taken from the "London Gazette," but the 51st Records show one more man killed, viz., Corporal Matthewson, and state that the wounded numbered one officer, one sergeant and thirty other ranks.

the 5th Division, commanded by Colonel Grant of the 82nd. These officers, and the troops under their command, distinguished themselves."

Lord Dalhousie expressed his satisfaction with the conduct of his division in the battle in the following order :

" Camp Vittoria, 22nd June, 1813.

" *The Lieutenant-General desires to express his highest admiration of the conduct of the 1st Brigade and of Captain Cairns' brigade of guns yesterday ; nothing could surpass the bravery and steadiness of officers and men.*

" *Colonel Grant, 82nd, led the 1st Brigade into action, and maintained himself in it with a degree of cool and collected gallantry that did him the highest honour ; and the officers commanding the four regiments, Major Roberts, 51st Regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Johnstone, 68th, Major King, 82nd, and Major Duhanton, Chasseurs Britanniques, equally command the notice and approbation of the Lieutenant-General. To those names the Lieutenant-General must add those of Majors Rankin and Crespigny, 68th Regiment, whose personal exertions were most conspicuous."*

" J. Doyley, Lt.-Colonel A.A.G."

The total loss on each side was nearly equal, amounting to some 6,000 casualties in either army, but the French lost their guns, their supplies of all kinds, their treasure and transport ; while their army had become little better than a rabble, the men having nothing but the arms in their hands and the clothes on their backs.

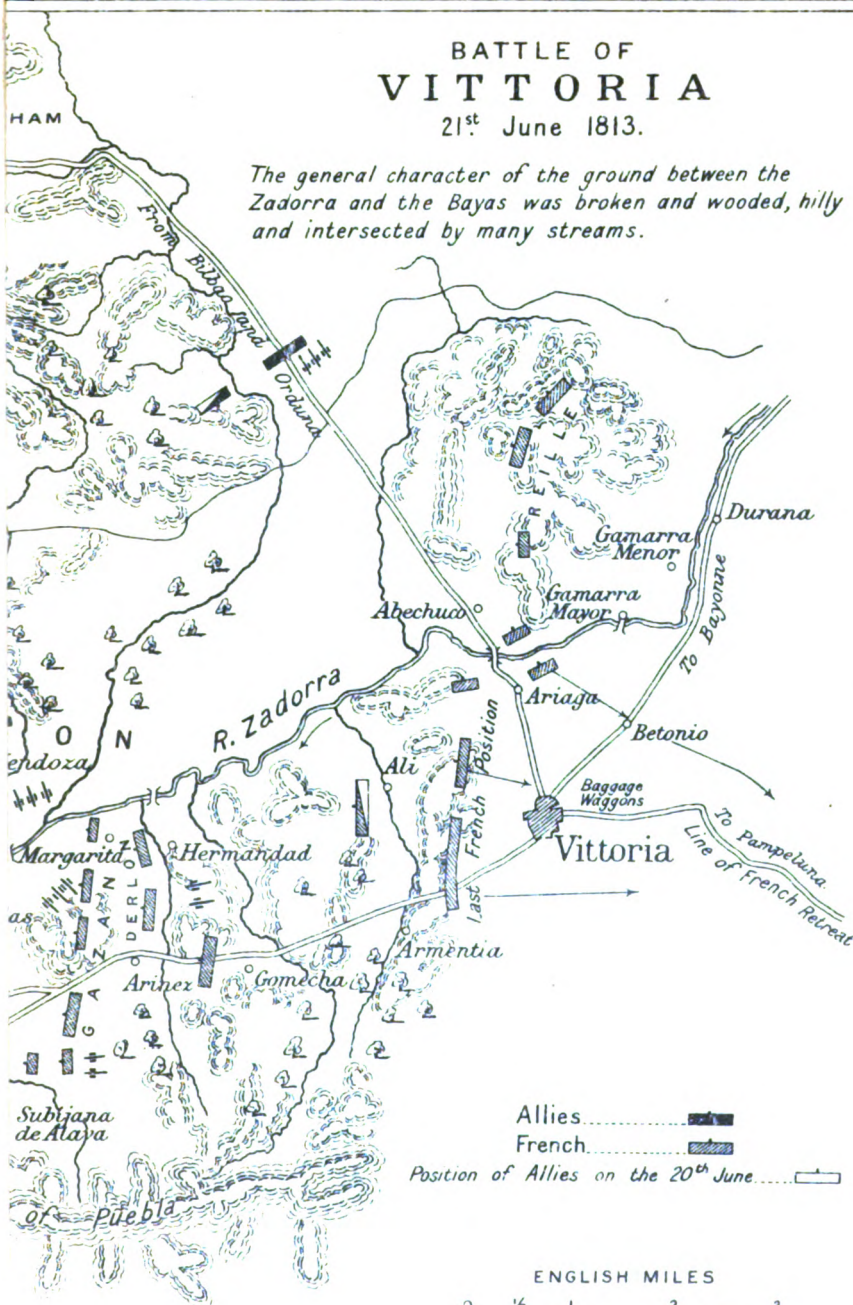
The 51st passed through Vittoria, the men picking up much needed food and welcome loot *en route*, and bivouacked two miles from the city on the Pampeluna road, and were ready to take up the pursuit next day, which must have resulted in the complete dispersal of King Joseph's army. But the sight of the spoils of war, lying ready to be picked up all over the field and on the roads leading to the rear, proved too much for men who had suffered so many hardships and did not realize the immense importance of the victory ; and Wellington reported with bitterness on the 23rd June that upwards of 8,000 British soldiers were absent from their Colours, scattered over the country marauding, while the majority of those remaining with their regiments were under the influence of drink.

None the less Wellington started on the 22nd June in pursuit of the French with six divisions, of which the 7th was one, and all his light cavalry, and by the 25th the 51st was in the neighbourhood of Pampeluna, whence the Return for this month is dated. From it we learn that the number of privates was now only 302 ; that there were sick one captain, three lieutenants, one adjutant, eight

BATTLE OF VITORIA

21st June 1813.

The general character of the ground between the Zadorra and the Bayas was broken and wooded, hilly and intersected by many streams.



sergeants, one drummer, seven corporals¹ and 145 privates; and that Gentleman Volunteer Joseph Gibson² had joined from England on the 12th June.

A force being left to blockade Pampeluna the British army followed the French towards the Pyrenees, and early in July the 51st was at Echallar, the Brigade now being commanded by Major-General Inglis, who had taken over from Colonel Grant of the 82nd.

"In this encampment," writes Mainwaring, "we remained unmolested until the morning of the 25th July, on which day the French attacked our right. Soult, having joined, was determined to try and retrieve the errors, as he termed them, of his predecessor, and moving a large force to his left, bore down in great numbers on Hill's division, our extreme right. About two o'clock we were ordered to strike tents and stand to our arms, and the sound of a heavy fire of musketry to the right soon let us into the secret. The Pass of Maya was about three miles from us, and towards evening we had a beautiful sight of the contest now raging there. Our troops, overwhelmed and pushed by numbers, fought with the most desperate bravery, and contested the ground *literally* inch by inch; part of the 2nd Division, for four hours, held a small spot of ground against twenty times their own numbers. On the top of the Maya mountain was a huge rock, somewhat like a natural citadel, occupied by two companies of the 82nd, who, when their ammunition failed, hurled down stones on the French and kept them at bay."

The 51st does not seem to have been actively engaged on this occasion, and during the night orders were received to move in the direction of Pampeluna, as Soult was endeavouring to relieve that fortress, and our right having been turned that flank was consequently thrown back and continued to retreat on the 26th, 27th, 28th and 29th, so as still to cover the siege of St. Sebastian, then in progress, and also the blockade of Pampeluna.

Mainwaring tells us that, "We were not engaged until the 30th when Lord Wellington, who, with the 4th and 6th Divisions, had given the enemy a terrible check on the 28th, and was now consequently about to act again on the offensive, and so make Soult retrace his steps, sent orders for our division at daylight to attack a hill immediately in our front; we were put in motion just as the sun rose, dispersing the mists of a summer's morn, and the scene that gradually developed itself, as the vapours slowly rolled away their white masses from amongst these beautiful mountains, was truly magnificent. About a mile to our left the 82nd and Chasseurs Britanniques were to be seen in line, with their Colours displayed and the sun

¹ In this year for the first time Corporals are shown separately in the Returns.

² Gibson was given on 28th July an ensigncy in the 68th.

glittering upon their bright bayonets, advancing gallantly up the face of the hill, with the 68th in extended order covering their front. We were now moving in line right up the steepest part, but as yet had not come in contact with the enemy; on our right the 4th and 6th Divisions were already smartly engaged, and we could hear the long and continued roll of musketry, mingled with the loud and inspiring cheer of the British soldier in action. On reaching the summit the scene was still more interesting; here it was beautifully wooded, and on a little romantic knoll about a hundred yards in our front, the French in great force were strongly contesting the ground with a regiment of Portuguese Cacadores, who were in vain trying to make head against them; their wounded were coming to the rear in great numbers, and as we moved rapidly up to support and relieve them, they received us with loud and animated cheers. What the Cacadores had failed in doing, we soon effected, and, driving the enemy from this post, we were hotly and smartly engaged for about four hours. . . . Towards evening we were successful on all points. . . ."

The march was resumed next day, the 31st, and "towards three o'clock in the afternoon the sight of a French column winding up the pass in our front, gave us intelligence that this day was not to pass off so comfortably and pacifically as we imagined." A staff officer rode up and ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Roberts, as he now was, to move on, but not to press the French too closely; shortly after, however, another staff officer arrived upon the scene directing that the advance was to be pushed, when Colonel Roberts turning to a bugler, "desired him to sound the advance in double time; the men loudly cheered as the sound was taken up by bugles in every direction, and, pushing on, we soon had hot and peppery work indeed; for, as the enemy were in great force, the leaden shower came down pretty smartly among us. We, however, continued to gain ground, but were speedily obliged to be reinforced by regiment after regiment until the whole brigade became warmly engaged, and we then rapidly pushed the French up the Pass, although they fought well and more than once drove the skirmishers back. . . . Towards night the main body of the French having got off we halted and retired to the bottom of the Pass for the night."

Wheeler¹ gives some personal touches from the point of view of the man in the ranks: writing of the moment when the 51st were pushing the French back up the hill, he says: "In a short time we got them on a small level on the side of the mountain; this place was covered with small bushes of underwood about twelve paces asunder; it was here we suffered most, the enemy could only get away a few at a time, we were intermixed through each other and

¹ "Journal," p. 42.

blowing each others brains out muzzle to muzzle. Sergeant-Major Davis had equipped himself with a pouch and firelock belonging to a dead Frenchman, and as he was in the act of loading his piece behind one of the bushes above mentioned, a French grenadier, who was concealed on the other side of the bush, jumped up and levelled his piece at him. The sergeant-major struck it with his right hand to his own left, when the piece went off and its contents passed through the sergeant-major's left hand. He instantly jumped over the bush, seized the fellow by the throat and threw him down. The man cried for mercy, was disarmed and sent to the rear."

In Wellington's despatch of the 1st August, 1813, we read: "I cannot sufficiently applaud the conduct of all the general officers, officers and troops. . . . The attack made by Lieut.-General the Earl of Dalhousie was admirably conducted by his Lordship and executed by Major-General Inglis and the troops composing his brigade."

The records state that the 51st suffered a loss of three sergeants, one bugler and twenty-six rank and file. In the *London Gazette* the losses at this period are not given by regiments, but by the Casualty Returns the following were killed in action on 30th and 31st July: Sergeant Sorrell, Privates Thompson, Mulhern, Mally, Plunkett, Rogers, Howes, Lawler and Maher.

Next day, the 1st August—the anniversary of Minden—the officers and men of the 51st, in accordance with old custom, placed laurel in their head-dresses, and marched to and halted at St. Estevan, "a beautiful little village embosomed in mountains;" and then on the 2nd at daybreak they moved by a steep path across the mountains to take up their old camping ground at Echallar. During this day's march General Barnes' Brigade of the 7th Division was heavily engaged with a French column it seems to have stumbled upon in the thick mist which lay upon the mountains, but the rest of the division does not appear to have been required to come into action.

Lord Dalhousie acknowledged the good service of the regiments of his command in the following divisional order:

"Echallar, Pyrenees, August 3rd, 1813.

"The Division having again resumed the post it occupied on the 25th, the Lieut.-General hastens to offer to the brigades his best thanks and highest approbation of their conduct on each day during the late very active movements. It has fortunately happened that each brigade and every regiment of them have had their full share of work, have met their enemy, and have beaten them on every occasion. They are, therefore, all equally entitled to the same share of praise. The Lieut.-General must, however, in a particular manner point out the gallant conduct of the 1st Brigade (consisting of the 51st, 68th, 82nd, and Chasseurs

Britanniques) under Major-General Inglis on the heights above Ostyz on the 30th July. The Lieut.-General desires to assure all that he considers the command of the 7th Division as the most honourable place in which he can stand."

"J. Doyley, Lieut.-Col. Adj.-Gen."

The Division remained halted here during the greater part of the month; on the 15th August Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell rejoined the Regiment from leave in England, and on the 31st fifty-seven rank and file arrived from home in the *Trent*. The effective strength, as given by the 51st Monthly Return, shows one lieut.-colonel, one major, six captains, thirteen lieutenants, three ensigns, one paymaster, one quartermaster, one assistant surgeon, twenty-two sergeants, fifteen drummers, twenty-three corporals, and 275 privates; while there were sick, three lieutenants, one adjutant, nineteen sergeants, three drummers, nine corporals and 181 privates.

The fortress of St. Sebastian was now at the utmost limit of its endurance, and orders had been issued for it to be stormed on the 31st August, while the covering troops had been directed to be ready to frustrate any attempt which Soult might make for its relief. The river Bidassoa presented some obstacle to the French advance, but not only was it fordable in more than one spot, but two at least of the three bridges were intact. On the 30th August, 1813, then, the 51st was sent off in all haste to hold the bridge at Lesaca, and next morning occupied a position in the village which there formed something of a bridge-head. The broken bridge at Behobia was held by a Spanish force, but the French under Reille forded the river and attacked the Spaniards who drove them back; at the same time Clausel, with 20,000 French soldiers, crossed the Bidassoa by the fords near Vera, and assailed the slopes of the Pena de Haya, held by a Portuguese brigade, to support which General Inglis and his men were sent forward.

The pressure of the French was too much for these two weak brigades, and they were forced back, fighting fiercely, to San Antonio, each regiment in turn covering the retirement of the others, and charging the enemy repeatedly with the bayonet. One of these charges made by the 51st is recorded by Wheeler, who tells us¹ that it was made by two companies of the Regiment commanded by Captain Frederick and Lieutenant Bayley, and one company of *Chasseurs Britanniques*. "This handful of men," he writes, "was contending with a large body of the enemy who were six to one against them, the enemy were posted on the top of a hill, and our

¹ "Journal," p. 44.

men under them, about 120 yards from each other. Both parties kept up a good brisk fire, but that from the enemy was tremendous ; our men were dropping very fast when they rushed upon the enemy with three cheers—never did I see so gallant a charge or such a pack of cowardly rascals before—in a minute there was not a Frenchman to be seen. Our men, however, were not able to keep possession of the ground long, as the enemy kept sending up large bodies of fresh troops. In this charge Captain Frederick was severely wounded in the foot, and Lieutenant Bayley was severely wounded in the left arm, which was amputated a few days after at Passages. . . . My comrade, John Brown, observed a French soldier behind a rock, a little to our right, whose fire was very mischievous. Brown levelled his piece at him several times but it did not go off ; he then rushed to the place, pinned the fellow to the rock with his bayonet, and returned back to us unhurt ; but was in a few minutes after wounded in the right knee which rendered him unfit for service. . . . I was struck on the inside of my right knee, the ball passed between my legs, it caused my knee to swell and turn black, but I did not leave the Regiment."

The losses of the 51st in this affair were, killed, Captain C. A. Douglas, Sergeant Forrister, Privates French, Pinner, Reeves, Ward, wounded, Lieutenant-Colonel Roberts, Captains Keyt, Kelly, James Ross and John Ross, Lieutenants Frederick, Bayley, Minchin, Dodd (died of wounds on 14th September), and Brook and Ensign Thurston, five sergeants and sixty-one rank and file. Captain Douglas was shot through the heart while arranging for wounded men to be carried to the rear, while of four men who attempted to bring in Douglas's body two were killed and one was wounded.

Mainwaring relates that : " At nightfall we kept our position ; still the ground originally occupied by our advanced skirmishers was in possession of the French, and some of our wounded who had been left behind were most kindly treated by them. We had been engaged with the 51st French Regiment¹, and pointing to our number in their caps, they said they all belonged to the same regiment and that our men should fare as their comrades. They fed them ; dressed their wounds ; nay, they did not even plunder their packs, and in the morning we found these soldiers whom the French, owing to their wounds, could not take away with them in their retreat, all speaking in the highest terms of the treatment they had received."

In the report on the action of the 31st August, furnished by Major General W. Inglis to the divisional commander and dated " Camp

¹ *Wheeler corroborates this in his " Journal," p. 42, saying, " The Regiment was engaged during the greatest part of the action with the third battalion 51st French regiment just arrived from France and about 1,300 strong...this I learned from a deserter who came over to us in the night."*

near Lesaca, 2nd September, 1813," he wrote¹: . . . "At nearly 11 o'clock the enemy's strength had increased so much and were, in consequence, gaining ground that it became absolutely necessary to withdraw from the position to another in the rear which had been pointed out; in doing which the affair became general and every inch warmly contested, when I have the greatest happiness in assuring your Lordship that the 1st Brigade maintained most strongly their character, and in no instance did troops show more steady discipline and determined gallantry. I much regret the severe loss we have met in valuable officers and men; it fell particularly severe on the 51st Regiment, which, being a weak battalion, fully officered, was employed in covering the retreat of the other troops with directions to maintain their post, both of which were executed by Colonel Mitchell in the most handsome manner." General Inglis mentions being much indebted to "Lieutenant W. H. Elliott, 51st Regiment, acting as my aide-de-camp."

Lord Dalhousie, reporting on the action of the 31st to the Field Marshal, said that "the 1st Brigade had to sustain the attack of two divisions of the enemy on a strong and wooded hill; the loss there was unavoidable; that of Le Cor, I must confess was owing in some degree to the too forward gallantry of the Portuguese troops. Notwithstanding this, my Lord, I cannot speak in too strong terms of the Generals Inglis and Le Cor, their officers and men. On every occasion of meeting the enemy I find additional reason to be proud of the conduct of the 7th Division."

The Commander of the 7th Division was no less complimentary in the General Order which he caused to be published at Echallar on the 2nd September, which runs as follows: "*The Lieutenant-General has again to offer his cordial thanks to the 1st and 3rd Brigades who were engaged on the 31st. ult. In both the loss of officers and men is most severe and deeply to be regretted. That of the 1st Brigade under Major-General Inglis was unavoidable, it having had to resist the attacks of troops greatly superior in force; the 3rd Brigade, under General Barnes, had not the same difficulties to contend with, and their loss is to be attributed to too much heat. Whilst the Lieutenant-General admires the gallantry of both brigades, he must beg leave to point out to all officers that are in command, that whilst their natural bravery leads them on, their duty ought to tell them at all times that they should not go too far, nor expose their troops to any unnecessary loss. In saying this, however, he desires to express his highest admiration of the conduct of both brigades.*"

Finally the Commander of the Forces in his despatch of the 2nd

¹ "Supplementary Despatches," Vol. 8, p. 221.

September to Earl Bathurst¹ stated that "Major-General Inglis and the regiments in his brigade of the 7th Division conducted themselves remarkably well. The 51st Regiment, under Colonel Mitchell, and the 68th under Lieut.-Colonel Hawkins, covered the change of position by the troops from the heights between the Bidassoa and Lesaca to those of San Antonio ; and these corps were distinguished."

Both on the 30th and 31st August Major-General Inglis had a horse shot under him.

In these actions the 51st and 68th had lost a large proportion of their small numbers—the Return for September shows the former Regiment as having only 246 men in the ranks ; and from the following² it may be seen that Wellington was so impressed by the reduction in strength of these two corps that he was seriously contemplating their formation into a composite battalion. In a postscript of a letter of the 3rd Sept. to the Secretary of State he said : " It would be very desirable to adopt some measure respecting the 51st and 68th Regiments, that is to say, either to order them home, or to allow me to form them into a provisional battalion. They are fully officered with very few men, and it is quite shocking to see the list of killed and wounded when they go into action. The other day the 51st lost twelve officers killed and wounded, and I believe not quite 100 men. As to sending them home, I must tell you that in this country in particular one old soldier is worth at least five new ones."

Wellington refers to the matter of these two regiments again on the 24th September in a letter to Lord Bathurst, and on more than one occasion after that date, but no action was taken, and the two corps remained as separate and individual units to the end of the war.

During the greater part of September the 51st appears to have been at Santa Barbara facing Vera, moving early in October to Echallar in relief of a Spanish corps. Major Rice had rejoined the regiment from leave on the 10th September, while Major Roberts proceeded to England on the 14th October ; early in this month also Lord Dalhousie went home, being temporarily succeeded in command of the division by General Le Cor.

St. Sebastian having fallen, Wellington "matured a plan of attack as daring as any undertaken during the whole war. This was to seize the Great Rhune mountain and its dependents, and at the same time to force the passage of the Lower Bidassoa and establish his left wing in the French territory."³

¹ *Gurwood*, Vol. 11, p. 70.

² *Gurwood*, Vol. 11, p. 77.

³ *Napier*, Vol. 6, p. 248.

The operations commenced on the 7th October, but the attack this day on the right and front of the Great Rhune was unsuccessful—here indeed the position was practically impregnable; the left appeared more easily accessible and Wellington gave orders for the attack to be here made by the Spaniards, supported by the 7th Division. The 2nd Brigade only of the latter seems to have been seriously engaged and appears to have advanced further than was intended; “the troops of the 7th Division got into Sarre very imprudently,” wrote Wellington to Earl Bathurst on the 10th October. “The French attacked them and drove them back; but the Spaniards arrived at that moment and the camp was maintained.”

Mainwaring and Wheeler naturally go more into details; the former says: “We were principally lookers-on, for except some skirmishing in the village of Sarre, brought on more by the overflowing bravery of a company of the 6th Regiment and which cost it its captain and several men killed, and a staff officer badly wounded, except this, I say we had little to do. It was an interesting sight.”

Wheeler remarks that “the Spaniards fought better than ever we had known them do before and drove the enemy off the mountain. . . . The Brigade Major of the first brigade was wounded and was replaced by Lieutenant Elliott of the 51st Regiment, at that time extra aide-de-camp to Major-General Inglis, and continued as such during the campaign. We then returned back to our old camp where we remained until the night of the 9th November.”

The net result of the two days’ operations was that the passage of the Bidassoa was won and the Allies were established on French soil.

The 51st now returned to and spent some weeks at Echallar where, on the 6th November, it was joined by a draft of forty-three men who came out from home in the *Thomas and Mary*. Here Colonel Mitchell fell ill, remaining behind when the forward movement again began.

Wellington now determined to advance into France, striking at the enemy’s centre, and by crossing the Nivelle at the bridge of San Pé, to divide Soult’s force into two. The 7th Division, still in the neighbourhood of the Rhune mountain, formed with the 3rd, 4th and Light Divisions and two bodies of Spaniards, a corps under Marshal Beresford, and in the coming operations was to oppose the French force under Clausel.

The following is General Inglis’s very brief account of the work of the 1st Brigade¹: “On the 10th November, pursuant to instructions they had previously received from the Quartermaster-General for a general attack, the 7th Division marched to the *embouchure* of the Puerto d’Echallar, and remained in column right in front till

¹ “*The Bugle*,” for December, 1900, p. 9.

after daybreak, when the army advanced, each division with eagerness to execute the duty allotted to it in the general grand attack, in which they all succeeded. The 68th Regiment took possession of the left hand redoubt which the enemy had evacuated after a few rounds from the artillery, observing their flanks to be turned and the enemy moving on to the attack of the heights beyond the two redoubts. The brigade moved through the village of Sarre, and attacked the strongly fortified heights above that village, carrying everything before it. On the arrival of the brigade in front of the village of San Pé, it was halted for a short time by Marshal Beresford, when he gave Major-General Inglis orders to advance and cross the Nivelle over a wooden bridge on his left, and attack the heights above that village, which were occupied by the enemy in great strength. The village itself was in possession of the 3rd Division.

"The 68th made the attack with its usual vivacity, supported by the 51st, and carried the heights after a severe struggle. It is justice to state that the two regiments were gallantly supported by the 82nd commanded by Captain Walmsley and the Chasseurs under Captain Prevost, without whose assistance they neither could have succeeded or maintained themselves. . . Captain Hobhouse, A.D.C. and acting Brigade-Major Elliott, 51st Regiment, both had their horses shot under them and Major-General Inglis received a severe contusion on the foot by a musket ball."

We turn again to Mainwaring and Wheeler for further and more personal particulars of the action; the former says, "Thrice were we driven back by overpowering numbers; but we cleared them off at last, and when we gained the summit of the hill they were pouring down on the other side in full and rapid flight. The positions on our right and left had been gained and we were victorious on all points."

Wheeler tells us what befell him: "Nearly on the top of the hill," he writes, "I was wounded in both legs—a musket shot passed through my right leg near the ankle and the other was grazed near the same place. The moment I dropped, the enemy rallied and drove our men back; my situation then became very awkward as I was soon in rear of the enemy and exposed to the shot from my comrades—our men again charged and were again driven back. I now witnessed a great scuffle which took place with a Frenchman and a private of the Regiment named Dennis Lavey; it was a fair wrestling match; Lavey gave the Frenchman a fair back, kicked him in the face, snatched up a firelock, and gave him a knock on the head. A young French officer who was in front encouraging his men on to the charge, was shot by one of our men who lay wounded. A French soldier came to me and plundered me of two dollars and some small silver, and

was in the act of taking my knapsack, when our men again cheered and charged. The confusion of the enemy was beyond description. I seized a firelock which belonged to one of our men who was lying dead alongside of me, my own being unloaded, and shot the man who had plundered me; then sat up with my cap on the muzzle of the firelock and continued to wave it until my comrades had gained the ground I was on."

Wheeler, despite his wounds, was not unmindful of the main chance. "In the afternoon," he tells us, "I crawled to the fellow who had been plundering me and got my money back—and some more in the bargain!"

The loss of the 51st in this, the Battle of the Nivelle, as given in the *London Gazette* of the 25th November, amounted to two officers, three sergeants, eleven rank and file killed, two officers, one sergeant, two drummers and seventy rank and file wounded; one officer captured. The two officers killed were Lieutenants M. Stephens and J. D. Taylor, while the two who were wounded were Lieutenants W. G. Mahon (severely) and H. Martin (slightly). The officer taken prisoner was Captain J. H. Phelps, who, so Mainwaring relates, "was taken merely from his own bravery, which would not let him run till too late. I have heard him say that when he turned to make a bolt at least fifty Frenchmen were within five yards of him, and, ere their officer could prevent it, fired a whole volley at him. How he escaped death is miraculous as several bullets passed through his clothes and cap."

The following are the names, taken from the Casualty Returns¹, of some of those "other ranks" of the 51st Regiment who fell at Nivelle: Sergeants Curson and Webster, Corporal Westbury, Privates Nelson, James, Hughes, Argant (?), Pinder, Morville, Mingay, McGlinchy and Spong; while as the following are described as "died of wounds" between the 11th and 15th November inclusive, it may probably be accepted that they also became casualties on the day of the battle: Sergeant Marsland, Corporal Green, Privates Smith, Mortimer, Hooker, Rogers and Sykes.

Wellington in his despatch² dated "St. Pé, 13th November, 1813," to Earl Bathurst wrote: "I likewise particularly observed the gallant conduct of the 51st and 68th Regiments, under the command of Major Rice and Lieut.-Colonel Hawkins, in Major-General Inglis's brigade, in the attack of the heights above St. Pé in the afternoon of the 10th."

The 51st was granted permission to bear the "Honours" for this

¹ W.O., 25/1843.

² *Gurwood*, Vol. 11, p. 284.

battle and that of Vittoria in the Adjutant-General's Memorandum of the 24th December, 1816, which is as follows :—

" Most humbly submitted to His Royal Highness

" The Prince Regent.

" That permission be granted to the 51st Regiment of Light Infantry to bear on its Colours and Appointments, in addition to any other Badges or Devices which may have been heretofore granted to the Regiment, the words " Vittoria " and " Nivelle " in commemoration of the Services of the Regiment at Vittoria on 21st June, 1813, and at Nivelle in November, 1813.

" In the Name and on the Behalf of His Majesty.

" Approved

" GEORGE, P.R."

" Adjutant-General's Office,

11th December, 1816.

*Communicated on 24th December, 1816, to General Morshead,
Colonel 51st Light Infantry, Officer Commanding, etc."*

The result of the Battle of the Nivelle was that Soult withdrew his main body to the entrenched camp at Bayonne and took up a new position with his left at Ustaritz on the river Nive and his right on the sea at Bidart ; but on the 12th he retired still further, destroying the bridge at Ustaritz, and then occupied with six divisions a line with the right at Anglet and his left resting on the Camp at Bayonne. During the next few days there was thick fog and heavy rain, the rivers were in flood and the roads almost impassable, so that the British were unable immediately to follow up their victory. When an advance was attempted it was found impracticable to effect the passage of the Nive, and on the 17th November Wellington placed his troops in cantonments when the 51st found themselves at a place called Arbonne, and here they seem to have remained until the end of the first week in December. The Monthly Return dated the 25th November is compiled at this place, and it gives the strength of the Regiment as one lieutenant-colonel, one major, five captains, ten lieutenants, two ensigns, one paymaster, one adjutant, one quartermaster, one assistant surgeon, nineteen sergeants, thirteen drummers, eighteen corporals and 225 privates ; while there were sick one lieutenant, eleven sergeants, four drummers, sixteen corporals and 209 men.

Early in December the weather cleared and orders were issued for the passage of the river Nive to be attempted at daybreak on the 9th. There was heavy fighting from that date to the 13th, but during that time Beresford appears to have employed chiefly the 3rd and 6th Divisions of his command, holding the 7th almost entirely in reserve,

and moving it up to strengthen any point which seemed especially threatened, finally bringing it up in the concluding action at St. Pierre when the day was won.

The 51st suffered no loss in the battle and seems for the rest of the year to have occupied quarters at Ustaritz, where their numbers slightly increased while their sick became fewer; thus the December Return shows the Regiment as having 254 effective privates while the sick numbered 186.

An examination of the Monthly Returns for the year 1813 shows that the 51st lost by death during the twelve months twelve sergeants, four drummers and 161 other ranks; that eight men were taken prisoner—one of these appears to have rejoined in December of this year—and four men deserted.

The *Supplementary Despatches*, Vol. 8, pp. 513 and 514, contain a "state" of the British Army in the Peninsula early in 1814; it is dated "Adjutant-General's Office, St. Jean de Luz, 16th January,"

and from it we find that the strength of the 7th Division, now commanded by Major-General Walker, was 7,756 with 1814 1,707 sick, the effective rank and file of the 51st Light Infantry being given as 268. The Monthly Return of the

Regiment, dated the 25th of the same month, and compiled at a place which is difficult to decipher but which has the appearance of Jaxton, gives the effective strength as one lieutenant-colonel, one major, four captains, nine lieutenants, two ensigns, one paymaster, one adjutant, one quartermaster, one surgeon, two assistant surgeons, twenty-one sergeants, fifteen drummers, twenty-one corporals and 248 privates; there were sick one captain, nine sergeants, two drummers, fourteen corporals and 174 privates.

Towards the end of December or in the beginning of January Captain W. L. Darling was appointed brigade major, while in January Mainwaring was ordered home in charge of French prisoners—being then not yet quite seventeen and having more than three years' active service to his credit!

For the six months that the campaign was still to endure the 51st received not more than one draft from home to replace wastage—forty-three men joining from home on the 23rd April. But what seems to have been an entirely new departure was made this year towards keeping up the strength of the officers, a number of officers being sent out from militia regiments in England and joining the 51st with "temporary rank." Thus in February, 1814, three militia officers were attached, Captains Kettily, Monmouth and Brecon Militia, and F. Rice, Royal Surrey Militia, with Lieutenant Tyacke, Royal Cornwall and Devon Militia. In March Ensign Walton, of the Monmouth and Brecon Militia, came out, and other officers

attached were Captain Stapleton and Lieut. Thackeray, of the Royal Cornish Miners, and Ensign Fraser, North Hampshire Militia, who seems to have joined the 51st just before the departure of the Regiment for England. On the 17th February Gentleman Volunteer Ludlow joined.

The authority for these postings is to be found in a circular letter dated "Whitehall, 25th November, 1813," which states that such "officers will be allowed temporary rank from date of approval by the Prince Regent, after nine months' service their army rank becoming permanent."

Wellington was not ready to advance again until the middle of February, 1814, for the rain had been continuous and the country was a vast quagmire, over which supplies, and even orders, could only with difficulty be conveyed. During the second week in February, however, a frost made the roads and tracks once more passable and enabled the British commander to commence operations, his objective being Bayonne and their immediate purpose the crossing of the Adour, at the junction of which river with the Nive the fortress stands.

On the 12th and 13th February the 6th and 7th Divisions relieved General Hill's force on the Adour, taking over the duty of covering the investment of that fortress, and Inglis's brigade seems to have been in contact with the French, but the 51st does not appear to have suffered any casualties. On the 15th Beresford with the 6th and 7th Divisions was somewhat critically situated had the French, as was well within their power, struck a heavy blow at Wellington's left wing, for Beresford had only the 7th Division at hand to oppose the enemy's right and centre, leaving the 6th Division to hold in check any sortie in force which might be made from Bayonne. To Beresford's support Wellington ordered up the 4th and Light Divisions and Soult fell back.

On the 16th February the 4th and 7th Divisions were at La Bastide de Clairance on the right bank of the Joyeuse river; on the 18th these with the Light Division arrived on the bank of the Bidouse at Bidache; on the 23rd the 4th and 7th menaced the French centre at Hastings and Oyergave on the left of the Gave de Pau, obliging the enemy to retire within the *tête de pont* at Peyrehorade. On this day, in carrying the village of Hastings, the 51st had Private Neal killed and one sergeant and nine¹ other ranks wounded.

On the 24th the 7th Division held the French General Foy in check at Peyrehorade; it passed the Gave de Pau on the morning of the 26th below the junction of the Gave d'Oleron, and, moving along the high road from Peyrehorade towards Orthes, was opposite the

¹ Thus the regimental records; the "London Gazette" gives three only.

enemy's right at St. Boés on the morning of the 27th; the French left was on the heights above Orthes.

The orders for the attack on the enemy's position were briefly as under: Beresford, with the 4th and 7th Divisions and a cavalry brigade, was to turn and attack the enemy's right; Picton, with the 3rd and 6th and a brigade of cavalry, was to assail the centre and left; Hill was to turn and attack the left; while the Light Division maintained communications and formed the reserve.

The front allotted to Beresford was so narrow that there appears to have not been room for more than the 4th Division to deploy, while any attempt to turn the enemy's right would have produced an excessive extension of the British line; the 4th Division was five times driven back and suffered severely from the French guns, but the 7th Division now advancing gained possession of St. Boés and deployed unmolested on the further side; here General Walker, commanding the division, seems to have been wounded. The attack was renewed with increased vigour and Soult now began to retreat—at first in good order, but then, finding their line of retirement threatened by Hill, the French troops broke and fled in great disorder. The pursuit was continued until dusk and the pursuers finally halted in the neighbourhood of the Sault de Navailles.

The 51st Light Infantry does not appear to have suffered any loss in the action, no doubt because as General Walker mentions in his report¹ of the battle to Marshal Beresford, when describing the forward move of his division to support and replace the 4th—"the 51st Regiment, having been left by the 1st Brigade at Oyergave after the affair at that place, to watch Peyrehorade, had not yet joined it." In this report General Walker calls Beresford's attention to "the attentive, active and gallant conduct... of Lieutenant Elliott, 51st Regiment, acting Brigade-Major of the 1st Brigade."

This was the last general action in which the 51st was present during the Peninsular War.

The 7th Division, moving forward, crossed the Adour and was at Mont de Marsan on the 2nd March, but on the 7th Wellington wrote to Beresford directing him to march next day "towards Langon with the 7th and 4th Divisions and Vivian's cavalry, with a view to establishing our authority in Bordeaux," and to gain possession of the mouth of the Garonne in order that the port might be acquired for the use of the British army. The force marched accordingly on the 8th, the cavalry leading, followed by the 7th Division, the 4th bringing up the rear, and moved by Roquefort, Captieux, Bazas, Langon and Castres to Bordeaux, where the cavalry arrived on the 12th, meeting with no opposition, and Louis XVIII. being at once acclaimed,

¹ "Supplementary Despatches," Vol. 8, pp. 612 and 613.

the white flag hoisted, and the Tricolour hauled down. One brigade of the 7th Division marched in to Bordeaux on the 13th and the remainder closed up the next day ; but on the 14th the brigades of the 4th Division were still at Bazas and Langon when Beresford received Wellington's letter of the 12th saying it was proposed to recall Beresford with the 4th Division and the bulk of Vivian's cavalry, leaving the 7th Division with three squadrons, under Dalhousie, "to complete the business on the Garonne." The 4th Division and the cavalry accordingly left the neighbourhood of Bordeaux on the 16th and rejoined the main army.

The situation in which Lord Dalhousie was now left might easily have been one of great difficulty and even danger, since there were two strong enemy forces in his neighbourhood, the one under General L'Huillier on the further side of the Lower Garonne and the other under Decaen at Libourne known as the army of the Gironde, each one of these being stronger than was the 7th Division. Dalhousie kept the main body of his division in and about Bordeaux, while Inglis's brigade occupied Langon.

Writing on the 19th March to General Murray, Q.M.G. at Headquarters, Lord Dalhousie stated : "I am sorry to enclose a report received late last night from General Inglis at Langon, stating the loss of his advanced picquet at St. Macaire ; the hussars effected their escape. It appears to be a most shameful neglect of duty and disobedience of his orders on the part of Captain Bron, Chasseurs Britanniques."

General Inglis's report runs as under : "It is with regret I report that the Captain's guard, consisting of two subalterns and fifty men, with a patrol of four hussars, have been surrounded and taken by a party of the enemy, consisting of about fifty gendarmes and 200 infantry. The Captain's instructions were to take up the best position in the town ; or if, from his small force, it should be dangerous to remain in it, such as he might think best adapted for defence and the security of his retreat to the boats, which would be covered by the guns posted on the bank of the river for that purpose, and to be careful not to commit himself or to run the risk of losing men."

It would appear that some of the 51st were implicated in this affair, for the Monthly Return for March, 1814, shows Lieutenant W. D. Simpson and twelve other ranks as having been taken prisoners on March 18th.

On the 27th March three English ships of war entered the mouth of the Garonne and made Dalhousie's position somewhat easier ; and early in April, leaving the brigade under Inglis at La Réole and Sauveterre, he moved with the rest of his force against the French troops in the vicinity of Bordeaux, routing them and taking some

few hundred prisoners; and on the 20th April Wellington sent Dalhousie a copy of the Convention into which he had entered with Soult for a suspension of hostilities, but to this Decaen, the senior French general opposing Dalhousie, refused at first to subscribe.

Hostilities, however, were now at an end; early in June the 51st took up quarters in or about Bordeaux, and on the 14th Wellington, from that city, issued his farewell order to the troops he had led:

- " 1. *The Commander of the Forces, being on the point of returning to England, again takes the opportunity of congratulating the Army upon the recent events which have restored peace to their country and to the world.*
- " 2. *The share which the British Army has had in producing these events, and the high character with which the Army will quit this country, must be equally satisfactory to every individual belonging to it, as they are to the Commander of the Forces; and he trusts that the troops will continue the same good conduct to the last.*
- " 3. *The Commander of the Forces once more requests the Army to accept his thanks.*
- " 4. *Although circumstances may alter the relations in which he has stood towards them, so much to his satisfaction, he assures them he shall never cease to feel the warmest interest in their welfare and honour; and that he will be at all times happy to be of any service to those to whose conduct, discipline and gallantry their country is so much indebted."*

The Log of the *Zealous* shows that the 51st embarked six officers, sixty-four other ranks, twelve women and four children on 13th June, nine officers, 192 other ranks and seven women of the 51st on 14th, and twenty-one officers, 229 other ranks and five women on 15th, finally sailing from Bordeaux on 17th June. It will be seen from what follows that the totals do not agree with those in the monthly return. Possibly the *Zealous* carried other troops besides the 51st.

The monthly return of the 51st for the 25th June, 1814—on which day it arrived in Plymouth Sound, shows the Regiment on board H.M.S. *Zealous*, on passage to England, of an effective strength of one lieutenant-colonel, one major, seven captains, ten lieutenants, six ensigns, one paymaster, one quartermaster, one surgeon, two assistant surgeons, twenty-seven sergeants, sixteen drummers, twenty-five corporals and 412 privates; there were left sick at Lisbon, Passages and Orthes five sergeants, one drummer, five corporals and sixty-five privates; while on command at Lisbon, Passages, Orthes and Toulouse were two lieutenants, two sergeants, one corporal and ten privates.

It is to be regretted that the monthly returns contain no nominal roll of the officers who left France with the Regiment; but we learn from these that from January to June, 1814, the 51st lost four men by death and eight by desertion, while an officer and twelve men were taken prisoners.

And so at last, after three and a half years of war, the officers and men of the 51st Light Infantry set their feet again on English soil—on the 27th June. Their losses had been heavy, their rewards few; only three men of the Regiment—Colonels Mitchell, Rice and Roberts—secured medals in recognition of their services, the others—such as survived—had to wait for theirs upwards of thirty years! Wellington was no believer in medals as a reward for the subordinate ranks, and his views as to eligibility for their award in general may be found in his despatches; writing on the 16th November, 1813, to a general officer who had applied for medals for his subordinate generals and regimental commanders, Wellington said: "If you will advert to the lists for the Battle of Fuentes de Onoro, you will find those only returned who were engaged with musketry. In that battle there was a very heavy cannonade upon the troops, in which many were lost; but the officers of no corps were returned in the list for medals whose corps had not been engaged with musketry with the enemy. That is the rule, and I cannot depart from it."

Tempora mutantur nos et mutamur in illis!

"Thus the war terminated and with it all remembrance of the veterans' services. Yet those veterans had won nineteen pitched battles and innumerable combats; had made or sustained ten sieges and taken four great fortresses; had twice expelled the French from Portugal, once from Spain; had penetrated France and killed, wounded or captured two hundred thousand enemies—leaving of their own number forty thousand dead, whose bones whiten the plains and mountains of the Peninsula."¹

¹ Napier, "Battles and Sieges," p. 469.

WATERLOO. 18th JUNE, 1815

XV

PLYMOUTH was for the 51st Regiment no more than a very brief halting place, for having arrived there in July, 1814, a change of garrison occurred in the following month when a move was made to Portsmouth, and here everybody settled down to recruit the ranks of the regiment, to draw clothing, and to provide themselves with such new badges as had been authorized while they were still in the field, but which so far they had been unable, in their wanderings, to obtain.

Thus on the 27th December, 1814, a Circular in the following terms had been issued from the Horse Guards, signed, by a curious coincidence, "R. Darling, D.A.G.," and which is worded as follows:

"I have the honour to acquaint you that the Commander-in-Chief has been pleased to command that Regiments of Light Infantry shall in future wear on their Capps, a Bugle Horn, with the number of the Regiment below it, instead of the Brass Plate now in use, and I am to request you will give directions that this Regulation may be carried into effect in the 51st Regiment."

It will be remembered that at the last inspection of the Regiment of which there is any record, that held at Moimento in January, 1813, the Inspecting Officer stated in his report that the 51st "has no Colours in this country," but it would seem that steps must early have been taken for the replacement of the Colours destroyed by Colonel Mainwaring's orders at Fuentes d'Onor—indeed it seems possible that new Colours were awaiting the Regiment on its arrival in England. Thus, when on the 10th October, 1814, it was inspected by Major-General Sir W. Howard, then Lieut.-Governor of Portsmouth, he reported "Colours in conformity to the King's Regulations," and added "Brevet-Major Keyt has had command about a month, all the Field Officers being absent on leave."

1815 With the opening of the year 1815 the peace of garrison life at Portsmouth was hurriedly dispelled. On the 26th February Napoleon escaped from Elba and landed three days later in France, where he speedily gathered round him many of his old adherents, while his former soldiers deserted the new government and placed themselves solidly at his disposal. It was not, however, until the 6th March that the news of his departure from Elba reached Vienna, filling with consternation the minds of the members of the Congress which was there in session, engaged in drafting a new map of Europe and preparing for the fresh era of peace which had seemed about to commence. The Congress which, as a well-known writer has said,

“ was perishing of mere strife among its own members, strife bred of unsatisfied greed and fast-kindling jealousies,” became at once united at the news and acted with praiseworthy decision. It was accepted that Napoleon was once again the master of France ; a declaration was drawn up and signed declaring the emperor outside the pale of civil and social relations ; on the 25th March what was known as the League of Chaumont was formally renewed, the four Great Powers agreeing each to contribute an armed force of 150,000 men, and not to lay down their arms without mutual consent and only when Napoleon should have been rendered incapable of further mischief. In England preparations were at once put in hand for the immediate assembly in the Netherlands of a mixed force of 106,000 British, Hanoverians, Belgians and Nassauers, and the command was offered to and accepted by the Duke of Wellington.

How the news of the outbreak of war reached the 51st is told by Mainwaring : “ One morning in March,” he writes, “ I was seated with two or three others at breakfast in the mess-room ; the Bugle-Major came in with the letters and as usual laid the newspaper upon the mess-table. Someone opened it, and glancing his eyes carelessly and coldly for a few moments over its contents, when suddenly his countenance brightened up, and flinging the newspaper into the air like a madman, he shouted out : ‘ Glorious news, glorious news ! Nap’s landed again in France ! Hurrah ! ’ In an instant we were all wild — ‘ Nap’s in France again ’ spread like wildfire through the barracks—the men turned out and cheered—nay, that night at mess, the moment the cloth was removed, the President rose and drank success to old Nap with three times three—our joy was unbounded, and few, I believe, went to bed that night sober.”

It was on the 23rd March that the Regiment embarked at Portsmouth and sailed for the Downs, where the transports seem to have assembled and where also, as was almost invariably the case, the troops were kept on board for some days before the voyage was resumed. The headquarters of the Regiment was accommodated on board the *Nymphe* and the monthly return for March, dated the 25th from on board this ship, gives us some interesting particulars about the state of the Regiment now proceeding so soon again on active service.

The strength of the 51st Light Infantry on this date is given as forty-five officers, forty-three sergeants, eighteen drummers, twenty-nine corporals and 521 privates. The following officers embarked with the Regiment : Colonel Mitchell, Major and Bt. Lieut.-Colonel Rice, Captains Keyt, Campbell, Thwaites, Storer, Phelps, James Ross, John Ross, Beardsley and Frederick ; Lieutenants Brook, Hawley, Minchin, Mahon, Hare, Ainsworth, Read, Kennedy, Dyas,

Flamank, Elliott, Simpson, Mainwaring, Tyndall, Martin, Roberts, Isaacson, Taylor, Howard and Lintott; Ensigns St. John, Percy, Krause, Johnston, Walton, Frazer, Blair and Lock; Paymaster Gibbs, Adjutant Jones, Quartermaster Askey, Surgeon Webster and Assistant Surgeons Clarke and Fitzpatrick.

The following remained at the Depot: Captain Smellie, Lieutenants Bayley, Varden and Galbraith, with nine sergeants, two drummers, twelve corporals and forty-six privates.

Lieutenant Maitland was serving on the staff as military secretary at Malta, where Lieut.-General Sir Thomas Maitland—presumably some relation—was then Governor; and Major and Bt. Lieut.-Colonel Roberts and Captain Kelly were absent on leave, the latter by reason of ill-health, to the 24th April. The Colonel, General Morshead, is also shown as “on leave.”

There were remaining sick at home four sergeants, one drummer, three corporals and thirty-six privates, and eight privates were absent without leave; the numbers in each rank required to complete establishment were thirteen sergeants, three drummers, sixteen corporals and ninety-nine privates.

The following different nationalities were represented in the 51st:
English:

36 officers, 40 sergeants, 17 drummers, 38 corporals and 480 ptes.
Scotch:

4 ” 1 ” 0 ” 0 ” and 7 ptes.
Irish:

13 ” 15 ” 4 ” 7 ” and 132 ptes.
Foreigners:

0 ” 0 ” 0 ” 0 ” and 1 pte.

While the 51st Light Infantry was actually proceeding to a new theatre of war, the following award was made to them and to other Regiments in recognition of their services in the campaign lately concluded:—

“ Most humbly submitted to His Royal Highness

“ The Prince Regent.

“ That the Regiments named in the margin be permitted to bear on their Colours and Appointments, in addition to any other Badges or Devices that may have heretofore been granted to those Regiments, the word “ Peninsula ” in commemoration of their Services during the late War in Portugal, Spain and France under Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington.

“ In the Name and on the Behalf of His Majesty.

“ Approved.

Horse Guards,
29th March, 1815.

“ GEORGE P.R.”

The 51st is named with the other regiments concerned in the margin of this order, which was communicated on 6th April.

Ostend was reached on the 30th March and here the 51st disembarked, and in the evening embarked again on barges proceeding up the Canal to Bruges, which was reached on the 31st, and to Ghent where the Regiment arrived on the following day. From here the 51st proceeded by march-route to Alost, arriving on the 2nd, Brussels being reached on the 3rd April.

At Brussels the 51st remained just the inside of a week and while here it was detailed to form part of the 4th Brigade of the 4th (General Colville's) Division of Hill's Corps. The other regiments composing the brigade were the 3rd Battalion 14th Foot and the 1st Battalion 23rd Fusiliers, while the brigadier was Colonel H. H. Mitchell, so that Bt. Lieut.-Colonel S. Rice was left in command of the 51st Light Infantry for the period of the campaign now opening.

From Brussels the brigade marched to Ninove, arriving there on the 9th and on the next day, the 10th April, the 51st found themselves at Grammont, then Hill's headquarters. Here the Corps Commander inspected his troops, and Mainwaring also tells us that "whilst at Grammont Lord Wellington reviewed the three regiments of the brigade, and as we again beheld our old eagle-eyed Chief looking uncommonly well, we felt the proud distinction of having served under him in so many well-fought fields, and were much gratified at hearing him remark, as he rode through our ranks, that 'he well remembered the faces of his old Peninsular friends.'"

On the 5th May the 51st marched to Renaix, returning on the 10th to Grammont; the reason for this move is given by Wheeler (now a sergeant) in his Journal; where he says that "Lord Wellington fixed upon Grammont for his headquarters for the purpose of reviewing the cavalry; during the review we left the town, but returned back when it was over."

While stationed at Grammont Private Woodroffe, of the 51st, was drowned—on the 16th May.

At Grammont the Brigade remained until the 16th June, all ranks in comparative ignorance of the movements of the French. Thus on the 9th June Lieut.-Colonel Rice of the 51st Light Infantry wrote a letter home which was only posted on the 13th, and in this he said: "We are at present quiet, all a matter of conjecture as to what is to be done. The Great Duke knows, but we poor devils know nothing."¹

Early in the afternoon of the 15th June Wellington learnt something of what the French were doing—the occupation by them of Charleroi and their advance northward towards Quatre Bras, and later in the day orders were issued for a general concentration of the

¹ "Life of a Regimental Officer," p. 277.

allied force towards Quatre Bras. In these it was directed that "the 4th Division to be collected this night at Grammont, with the exception of the troops beyond the Scheldt, which are to be moved to Audenarde."¹

Further orders were issued in rapid succession; thus at 10 p.m. this day—"the 2nd and 4th Divisions of infantry to move from Ath and Grammont, also from Audenarde, and to continue their movements upon Enghien. . . . The above movements to take place with as little delay as possible."²

In consequence of the above the 51st marched from Grammont at daybreak on the 16th, *en route* for Braine le Comte, leaving Lieutenant Taylor and Ensign Percy sick in hospital; there was a couple of hours' halt at Enghien, after which the brigade pushed on and camped for the night in heavy rain in a field near Braine le Comte. Nivelles was reached very early on the morning of the 17th and here some of the wounded from the Battle of Quatre Bras of the day previous were met, accounting for the guns which had been heard during the march of the 16th.

On the 16th Wellington had issued an order to Lord Hill directing the 4th Division to march at daybreak on the 17th to Nivelles, which order, as we have seen, was duly complied with by Colonel Mitchell's brigade containing the 14th, 23rd and 51st Regiments. The defeat of the Prussians at Ligny on the 16th and their consequent retreat upon Wavre made certain changes necessary in the orders which Wellington had given, for he had by this decided to fall back from Quatre Bras upon the Waterloo position. The instructions now sent to Lord Hill in regard to the movements of the 4th Division ran as follows: "The brigades of the 4th Division, *now at Nivelles*, to march from that place on Waterloo at 10 o'clock. Those brigades of the 4th Division *at Braine le Comte, and on the road from Braine le Comte to Nivelles*, to collect and halt at Braine le Comte this day."

In a further order, addressed direct to Major-General the Hon. Sir C. Colville, commanding the 4th Division, it was directed that "The brigades of the 4th Division at Braine le Comte are to retire at daylight to-morrow upon Hal."

It was thus due to the mere accident of the 51st being in the leading brigade, which was already at Nivelles when the first of these two last orders was issued, that the Regiment was enabled to take part in the battle of Waterloo, instead of being condemned to inaction on that eventful day, like the remaining brigades of the Division, which remained posted on the extreme right flank of the Allies at Hal taking no part in the action.

¹ Gurwood, Vol. 12, p. 472.

² *ibid.*, p. 474.

About noon the 4th Brigade left Nivelles *en route* for Waterloo; both Mainwaring and Wheeler, the subaltern equally with the sergeant, make complaint of the congested state of the road blocked with guns, troops and baggage, of the intense heat and dust. Towards evening, however, there was thunder and heavy rain, but when from time to time the rain-clouds cleared away, the infantrymen could see in the distance some of the enemy's columns, and the French skirmishers engaged with our mounted men.

As the light was beginning to fail Colonel Mitchell led his brigade to the position told off for it—on the extreme right near Braine le Leud, and here the regiments bivouacked for the night, the rain continuing to fall in torrents.

The disposition of the allied army was as under :¹

The first line was of infantry, with cavalry on the flanks, and was thus posted :—On the right were the two brigades of Guards—having to their right rear and right flank, watching the ground between Hougomont and Braine le Leud, Mitchell's brigade and a squadron of the 15th Hussars. Hougomont was occupied by the Light Companies of the Guards, together with a regiment of Nassau troops and two companies of Hanoverian sharpshooters.

Behind this part of the line, thrown back between Merbe-Braine and the Nivelles road, were the three brigades of the 2nd Division.

Next to the Guards came the 3rd Division, its 2nd Brigade King's German Legion occupying La Haye Sainte with a Nassau contingent in rear.

Then came next in order the 5th Division under Picton, a battalion of the 95th occupying a sand pit and broken ground near La Haye Sainte, while in advance, exposed upon the slope, was a Dutch-Belgian brigade; on the extreme left were brigades of the 6th and of the 5th Divisions, while further out still the cavalry brigades of Vandeleur and Vivian pushed their patrols towards Ohain and Frischermont.

To the right, beyond the main position, a Dutch-Belgian division at Braine le Leud, maintained communication with the troops at Hal. The second line was composed chiefly of cavalry—three brigades to the west of the Charleroi road, one to the east, and the Hussars of the German Legion in rear.

The reserves were in rear of the right and right centre—the Brunswick corps near Merbe-Braine, the Dutch-Belgian cavalry near the Charleroi road, and a brigade of the 6th Division near the farm of Mont St. Jean.

On the morning of Sunday, June 18th, the whole British front, from beyond Hougomont to Smohain, was covered by a line of

¹ Robinson, "*Wellington's Campaigns*," pp. 580, 581.

skirmishers, those in front of the 4th (Mitchell's) brigade being furnished by the light companies from the three battalions composing it, under Captain and Brevet-Major Keyt, 51st.

There is great divergence of opinion as to the exact hour at which the battle commenced, some of the commanders present on either side putting it as early as 10 a.m., others saying it did not open until midday; but it certainly began with a preliminary attack by the French upon Hougomont and the troops posted in the vicinity. Among these was Mitchell's brigade, which remained for the whole of the day in practically the same spot, sometimes gaining, and sometimes losing ground. Its position was a very important one since there was an unoccupied gap of some five miles between the right of the battle line, where was the 4th Brigade, and the allied troops about Hal. For the purpose of checking any turning movement by the enemy in this direction the brigade was weak in numbers, having, as may be seen from the "Morning State,"¹ no more than 1,708 bayonets present on the field:—

14th.	Officers	38,	sergts.	33,	drummers	11,	rank and file	548.
23rd.	"	44,	"	35,	"	23,	"	639.
51st.	"	45,	"	39,	"	14,	"	521.

When the French attack here developed, some companies of the 51st—Mainwaring says three, Wheeler four—among them those of Captains Phelps and Campbell,—were ordered forward to support the skirmishers, driving the French light troops back on their columns, and at this moment the 4th Brigade was posted as follows: along the portion of the avenue leading to Hougomont from the Nivelles road, and next to the latter, was extended the light company of the 23rd Fusiliers. On its right was an *abatis* across the road and a company of the 51st was stationed close to it. Four more companies of the 51st and the light company of the 14th were extended along the hollow way in continuation of the Hougomont avenue, and the remainder of the 51st were in support about 200 yards in rear. The 14th Regiment was posted still further to the rear as a reserve to the light infantry of the Brigade, which was thus opposed to the extreme left of the French line. The 23rd Regiment was stationed on the left of the Nivelles road under the crest of the main ridge, and in rear of the 2nd Brigade of Guards.

Owing to the undulating nature of the ground and the cover from view afforded by the standing rye, the companies with Phelps and Campbell did not come in actual conflict with the French until these were within about forty paces; the men of the 51st opened a rapid fire and then, cheering loudly, pushed forward with the bayonet and

¹ *Gurwood*. Vol. 12, p. 487. The 51st had two sergeants and six rank and file on command, four drummers and twenty-two rank and file sick.

caused the enemy to fall back although supported by cavalry. Then an order from Lord Hill directed these companies to fall back again, and "in this position," says Mainwaring, "we remained the whole day, close to Hougoumont, alternately advancing and retiring with the ebb and flow of the tide of battle."

There are letters in existence¹ from Lieut.-Colonel Rice and Captain John Ross of the 51st describing, twenty years later, what they themselves recalled of the part played by their Regiment in the battle, but both rather take the view expressed by the first-named of these two officers, who wrote: "Being so separated from the Army, you will perceive we bore no decided part in the action and were but holding ground during the great movements;" and again: "You must bear in mind we were not connected during any part of the memorable day with any of the principal movements. In fact I have considered my Regiment as a picket detached from the main body, throwing out skirmishers and supports, according to my view, and in covering a certain space of ground." But Captain Ross gives certain illuminating particulars of phases of the action.

Thus he relates that "At about 2 p.m. a small force of the enemy's Cuirassiers that charged through our lines, and there surrendered, took an opportunity of breaking away from a weak escort of Dragoons, and attempted to cut their way back to the Nivelles road, where a company" (Ross' own) "of the 51st Regiment was posted. This company was prepared to receive them in consequence of the supports and reserves of the 51st having fired at them *en passant*. They were commanded by an officer who surrendered to Captain Ross, although he was closely pursued by some English Light Dragoons, to whom he would not again surrender, as he had formerly been their prisoner. There were twelve horses and eight Cuirassiers killed on this occasion, and the remainder, about sixty, were dismounted, taken or dispersed. In this affair Captain Ross' company had the advantage of an *abatis* across the road where it was posted."

Corroboration of this statement comes from an officer of the British Hussar Brigade; thus, Captain Thackwell, of the 15th Hussars, mentions in his account of the battle that "a body of Cuirassiers passed between the square of infantry to our left, and being unable or unwilling to return, retreated towards the Nivelles road and passed the small post of the 15th Hussars; but those who escaped were said to be not more than thirty, some having been knocked down by the fire of the 51st, the direction of which prevented their being charged by the above detachment."²

¹ Siborne, "Waterloo Letters," pp. 313-317.

² "Military Memoirs of Lieut.-Gen. Sir J. Thackwell," p. 79.

Wheeler too has something to say about this incident: "From our position," he says,¹ "we witnessed most of the charges made by the cavalry. The enemy's cavalry were often in rear of our lines in heavy columns. Nearly one hundred Cuirassiers had overcharged themselves and were retiring to their own army by the road on our left; they came down at full gallop but were stopped at the bridge. We opened a fire upon them, and notwithstanding their steel jackets sent the whole of them (with the exception of two) fully accoutred and mounted into the other world.' Of the two who escaped death, one ran over the hill and the other was made prisoner. There is no doubt," Wheeler goes on to tell us, "that the man who fled gave the intelligence of our being in the cross road, for we were soon informed that the enemy were advancing in our direction in a large body of cavalry, infantry and guns. We then left the road and formed square, which was scarcely finished before three men were knocked down by an eight-pound shot. Lord Hill rode down to us and remained a short time, asked for a drink of water which was given him by one of our men. His lordship drank out of the wooden canteen and returned it with thanks. His lordship then ordered the square to march to its left, about fifty yards, to a place more under cover; the enemy did not come on and we remained here the remainder of the action."

All this time, and indeed during the greater part of the action, the 4th Brigade was under heavy gun fire from several batteries, and the Earl of Albemarle, then an ensign in the 3rd Battalion 14th, narrates² that in after years he met a French artillery officer who had been in charge of guns on the extreme left of the enemy line, and that his orders were to "fire upon three British regiments the Colours of which were respectively blue, buff and green, thus proving beyond all doubt that it was against our brigade that his practice had been directed." Lord Albemarle also recalls that on one occasion a bugler of the 51st ran into the 14th square in mistake for that of his own regiment, exclaiming as he did so, "Here I am again, safe enough." The words were scarcely out of his mouth, "when a round shot took off his head and spattered the whole battalion with his brains, the Colours and the ensigns in charge of them coming in for an extra share."

Everywhere, at every point of the allied line, the French attacks had been repulsed, and Mainwaring tells us how in the far distance he descried "the last gallant but useless attempt of the old Imperial Guard. . . . the dark column in one solid enormous mass crown the plateau and move forward; but here they halt, they waver,

¹ *Journal*, p. 55.

² "Fifty Years of my Life," Vol. 2, p. 29.

long lines of light are seen through the black body, and, borne down by the storm of grape and cannon-shot hailed upon them from our artillery, they gave way."

The battle was over, "parties of Prussian cavalry began now to push past us" to take up the pursuit, and tired and jaded with the long day's fighting the 51st was marched into the orchard of the blackened ruin that had once been the chateau of Hougoumont and piled arms. "We were badly off this night for water," Wheeler tells us, "as none could be had but what was spoiled by dead men or horses. I had the honour of cooking a beefsteak in a steel jacket belonging to one of the Cuirassiers."

The losses of the 51st Light Infantry at Waterloo are variously given: in the *London Gazette* they are stated to be, killed, one bugler, eight rank and file; wounded, Captain Beardsley, Lieutenant Tyndall and twenty rank and file; the Manuscript Records of the Regiment leave out the bugler from the killed and add Lieutenant Flamank to the wounded; while the Monthly Return of the 25th June—compiled a week after the battle—has "eight men killed and thirty-four wounded."

The "Casualty Returns" at the Public Record Office contain the following names of men of the 51st as "killed at Waterloo": Bugler Quin, Corporals Pounds and Winslett, Privates Turner and Seaton, while Private Kelly died on the 19th June of wounds received at Waterloo; Private Hart died on the 24th July on passage to England of wounds received in the same action; while under date of 24th January, 1816, there is the following entry in the Casualty Returns: viz., "Privates Collins and Wilson severely wounded at Waterloo, not since heard of, believed dead."

On June 20th the following divisional order was published:

"Lieutenant-General Sir Charles Colville cannot deny himself the satisfaction of adding to those of Lord Hill his own most hearty congratulations to Colonel Mitchell and the Brigade of the Fourth Division under his command, in the share they so fortunately had in the glorious and for ever memorable battle of the 18th inst. By every statement the 23rd Welsh Fusiliers and the 51st Regiment acted most fully up to their former high character, while the very young 3rd battalion, 14th Regiment, in this, their first trial, showed a steadiness and gallantry becoming veteran troops."

On the same day the Duke of Wellington published to the Army a long Order, of which the second paragraph ran as follows:—

"The Field Marshal takes this opportunity of returning to the Army his thanks for their conduct in the glorious action fought on the 18th instant, and he will not fail to report his sense of their conduct in the terms which it deserves to their several Sovereigns."

About 9 o'clock on the morning of the 19th June the 4th Brigade received orders to march and moved to Nivelles, where it halted and camped. On the following day the march was resumed and on the 22nd the 51st arrived at Le Cateau. Here on the 23rd Wellington issued orders to Lieutenant-General Colville saying that it was reported that the garrison of Cambrai had abandoned the place, leaving in it at most 300 or 400 men, and that Colville was to march thither forthwith and summon the Governor to surrender. The Duke added: "You had better conceal the force of your infantry, and show your cavalry and cannon and light infantry only in the first instance."

In accordance with the above the 4th Brigade, with the remainder of Colville's division, marched to Cambrai, and by the night of the 24th June the town was in the possession of our troops. There were three columns of attack, one directed against the angle formed by the Valenciennes gateway and the curtain of the body of the place, a second which attacked a large ravelin near the Amiens road, while the third, composed of Colonel Mitchell's brigade, entered the town on the side of the Paris gate. This column, "led by Captain Thompson, Royal Engineers, forced the outer gate of the Couvre Port in the hornwork, and passed both ditches by means of the rails of the drawbridges, and which they scrambled over by the sides. Not being able to force the main gate they escalated by the breach.... and before which, although the ditch was said to have twelve feet water, a footing on dry ground was found."¹

Wheeler contributes some details, saying, "the enemy ran from the walls and retired to the citadel which was very strong and seemed to threaten us with a vigorous defence.... Some men of the Regiment found here a cask of powder which they mistook for brandy; one of them, Corporal Carey, fired his piece into it while the others were waiting with their mess tins to catch the supposed brandy, but it blew up and the whole of the brandy merchants were dreadfully mutilated; the corporal and four men were discharged, being unfit for service. The corporal was a very handsome man and used to go by the name of 'the handsome corporal' among the women, but after this accident one would have taken him for old Vulcan or one of his Cyclops."

According to the *London Gazette* the 51st Light Infantry had two men killed and nine wounded²; the two killed were Privates Carpenter and Matthews.

On the evening of the 25th the citadel of Cambrai surrendered, and on the following day King Louis XVIII. proceeded there with his

¹ See *General Colville's Report*. Gurwood, Vol. 12, pp. 503, 504.

² The *Monthly Return for 25th June* gives the number of wounded as eight, the regimental records say ten.

Court and his troops, while the British force, which had been engaged in the operations about Cambrai, moved on the same day to Gouy and thence on the 27th through Peronne towards Roye, halting at the village of Puzeaux.

At this time the strength of the 51st was one lieutenant-colonel, one major, eight captains, nineteen lieutenants, seven ensigns, one paymaster, one adjutant, one quartermaster, one surgeon, two assistant surgeons, thirty-nine sergeants, fourteen drummers, thirty-two corporals and 445 privates. There were sick, one captain, one lieutenant, one ensign, three drummers, four corporals and forty-four privates, while one private had deserted since submission of the Returns for May.

On the 29th June the Division containing the 51st appears to have marched from Puzeaux *via* Montdidier to Petit Crèvecœur; on the 30th to Clermont; and on the 1st July to Chantilly; while on this day orders were issued for the Corps to which the 4th Division belonged to march towards Pierrefitte, there relieving General Bülow's Prussians, and taking up a line with the right on the great road about Pierrefitte and the left to the great road of Senlis.

Near where the 51st was now encamped was the "country residence of Jerome Buonaparte, a beautiful house, but with which our allies had made sad havoc; and it presented a melancholy scene of plunder and ruin. The glass sashes of the windows had been broken out of the front, it being barricaded as a post for a piquet; most of the large mirrors in the rooms dashed to pieces; books torn from the Library and thrown into the moat; the cloth cut from the billiard table; magnificent chairs, tables, and every article of the most beautiful kind of furniture broken and smashed to atoms."

Here the troops of the 4th Brigade sat down waiting for orders for the general attack to be made on the Capital.

Mainwaring relates that on the 3rd July "my company with several others was ordered to occupy the village of Aubervilliers, half of which was held by the French troops. . . . We soon grew friends, and in the full security of honourable warfare some of us crossed the streets and entered into conversation with the officers. They good-naturedly asked us how we were off for eatables, and offered to send us some white bread and tobacco, and the nearest piquet was immediately furnished with a good supply, for which their sutlerwoman was well paid, though the French refused at first to take payment. They asked us into the house and gave us an excellent luncheon and whilst we were all laughing and talking away, one of the officers, by his epaulettes apparently a major, took hold of the button of my jacket and looking at it exclaimed, 'Ah, 51st! Was Monsieur with his regiment in Spain? for I saved the life of one of

your captains whom we captured at the battle of Nivelles; he was *un brave homme, bel homme*. Is he alive? I should so much like to see him.' It was rather singular that the person of whom he spoke was the captain of my company" (Captain Phelps), "and I accordingly told the Frenchman that his wish could be easily and instantly gratified, that the *Brave* was in a house not a hundred yards distant, and I immediately sent for him. He soon came; the Gaul was delighted, flew into his arms, kissed him on one cheek and then on the other, talked with the utmost rapidity, asked a hundred questions, and never waited for an answer from my gallant old chief, who, when he got breathing time, recognised him instantly, shook him heartily by the hand, acknowledged that he had saved his life, prevented his being plundered or ill-used, and that he behaved in the kindest and most generous manner possible to him."

On the 4th July the Duke published to the Army a General Order announcing that he had, in concert with Field Marshal Prince Blücher, concluded a military convention with the Commander-in-Chief of the French army in Paris, by which the enemy were to evacuate St. Denis, St. Ouen, Clichy and Neuilly that day at noon, the heights of Montmartre twenty-four hours later, and Paris itself on the 6th. The Order concluded—"The Field Marshal congratulates the army upon this result of their glorious victory. He desires that the troops may employ the leisure of this day to clean their arms, clothes and appointments, as it is his intention that they should pass him in review."

On the 5th July from Army headquarters at Neuilly the thanks of the Houses of Parliament, passed *nemine dissentiente* on the 23rd June, were communicated to the Army.

On the 7th July the Second Corps, comprising the 4th Division, was ordered to camp with its left upon Neuilly, occupying that place, and its right extending into the Bois de Boulogne, and in the Bois the 51st seems to have remained nearly four months, marching on the 30th October to the village of Verrières, Colonel Mitchell's headquarters, about ten miles from Paris near the road to Orleans, in the neighbourhood of which the whole of General Colville's division was quartered. While encamped near the Bois de Boulogne the 51st lost one man, Private Clarke, who was drowned in the Seine on the 8th September.

At the end of October there was a good deal of correspondence between the Duke of Wellington in France and the Commander-in-Chief at the Horse Guards relative to the formation of an Army of Occupation, and the recall to England of such troops as might not be required to contribute to this force. At first the British Cabinet fixed the strength of the force to be provided by the United Kingdom

at no more than 20,000 men, the fear being expressed "lest there may not be troops enough left for the service of Ireland and the Colonies without keeping up an establishment difficult to be carried through Parliament; and we have the Ionian Islands and a war in India in addition to the points that were for consideration last year."¹ Later, however, the numbers of the British quota seem to have been fixed at 30,000.

The selection of the regiments to remain in France was guided by their efficiency at that time in point of numbers, or by the facility which the strength of the second battalions of regiments might afford towards the immediate completion of each to the number proposed. Of the three regiments of Colonel Mitchell's brigade the 1st Battalion 23rd Fusiliers was the only one selected to remain as part of the Army of Occupation, that corps having apparently been recently made up to a strength of 700 rank and file, while the 14th and 51st numbered no more than 593 and 558 rank and file respectively.

The Regiments returning to England and those remaining in France were now re-brigaded, the 14th and 51st forming, with the 2nd Battalion 35th Foot, a temporary brigade under command of Colonel Mitchell, 51st Light Infantry.

In the Order announcing these changes the Duke of Wellington caused it to be stated that "Upon breaking up the army which the Field Marshal has had the honour of commanding, he begs leave again to return thanks to the General Officers, and the officers and troops, for their uniform good conduct. In the late short but memorable campaign they have given proof to the World that they possess in an eminent degree all the good qualities of soldiers; and the Field Marshal is happy to be able to applaud their regular good conduct in their camps and cantonments not less than when engaged with the enemy in the field. Whatever may be the future destination of those brave troops of which the Field Marshal now takes his leave, he trusts that every individual will believe that he will ever feel the deepest interest in their honour and welfare, and will always be happy to promote either."

The period of the stay of the 51st in France was now drawing very near to an end, but before the Regiment embarked for England authority was given for yet another "Honour" to be borne upon its Colours and Appointments; the following is the text of the Order:—

"Most humbly submitted to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent.

"That permission be granted to the Regiments specified in the

¹ Maj.-Gen. Torrens to the Duke of Wellington, 28th Oct., 1815. *Supplementary Despatches*, Vol. 11, p. 216.

THE HISTORY OF THE K.O.Y.L.I.

margin to bear on their Colours and Appointments, in addition to any other Badges or Devices which may have been heretofore granted to those Regiments, the word 'Waterloo,' in commemoration of their distinguished services at Waterloo on the 18th June, 1815.

"In the Name and on Behalf of His Majesty.

Signed. Approved.

"GEORGE P.R."

"Adjutant-General's Office,

"23rd November, 1815."

Communicated on 8th December, 1815, to Colonels or Commanding Officers of Regiments.

On the 4th December the 51st Light Infantry received orders to proceed to the coast and embark for England. On the 6th the Regiment left Verrières for Calais, marching by way of Abbeville, experiencing continuous bad weather *en route*, and the march being attended by many difficulties arising from the necessity of quartering the troops in scattered billets in villages often some miles from the main road.

On the 2nd January, 1816, the 51st embarked at Calais for Dover, and, landing the following morning, occupied temporarily the Castle barracks. It left Dover again on the 4th and marched to Bletchington, where for some seven months it remained in garrison.



YEARS OF PEACE—1816-1852

XVI

THE previous sixty years of the existence of the 51st Light Infantry had for the most part been spent on foreign service, many of them in active operations against the enemy; since the Regiment was raised in 1755, it had passed nearly forty years out of the United Kingdom, and had taken part in many of the most stirring events of those troublous times. But with the return of the 51st from the Waterloo Campaign it was to settle down to six and thirty years of peace soldiering, during which, if it took its full share of service on the fringes of the growing Empire, it was to enjoy small opportunity of showing that its martial qualities had suffered no deterioration.

The Regiment remained at Bletchington only until August, 1816, when it marched to Chichester, a station which it had once or twice before occupied, and from here, on the 5th December, a detachment of 200 men under Colonel Mitchell, C.B., moved to Brighton for guard duty at the Pavilion, the residence of the Prince Regent. On the 27th January, 1817, this detachment marched from Brighton to Sheerness, under Bt. Lieut.-Colonel Keyt, arriving on the 1st February, and very shortly afterwards the remainder of the Regiment moved from Chichester to Chatham. On the death on the 20th April, of Colonel Mitchell, Bt. Lieut.-Colonel S. Rice succeeded to the command of the Regiment.

The 51st remained thus divided until May of this year when it was again moved, marching from Chatham and Sheerness to Portsmouth, and being quartered, five companies at Fort Cumberland and five at Hilsea. Later in the year—on the 30th July—the departure of the 36th Regiment for Malta permitted of the 51st being brought into the garrison, when it occupied Fore House and Culvert Barracks.

On the 29th September, the Regiment was inspected by Major-General Lord Howard of Effingham; it was commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Rice and mustered 766 rank and file.

It was again inspected on the 17th April, 1818, by the same General Officer, when the strength is stated to have been 743 rank and file, and the Inspection Report on this occasion contained the following remarks:—"The Appearance and Movement of the 51st Regiment at the half-yearly Inspection yesterday, were in every respect perfectly satisfactory, and their interior economy conducted in conformity to the Regulations in every respect."

A fortnight later—on the 4th May—the 51st Light Infantry marched in four divisions from Portsmouth to Plymouth, where the whole Regiment was concentrated on the 19th. Major-General Browne, the Lieutenant Governor, inspected the 51st on the 9th October following, when its effective strength was 725 rank and file.

In this year the reduction of the Army consequent on the establishment of peace came into effect, many hundreds of officers being thrown on their own resources, placed upon half-pay, and debarred from any longer following the profession to which they had given the best years of their lives.

By an Order dated "War Office, 24th October, 1818," the Establishment of the Regiment was reduced to four field officers, ten captains, ten lieutenants, ten ensigns, five staff, thirty-five sergeants, twenty-two buglers and 650 other ranks. Under the above order the following officers of the 51st were placed on half-pay: Lieutenants W. Walsh, H. Martin,¹ H. H. Roberts,¹ E. C. Isaacson,¹ E. J. Taylor, T. Troward,¹ W. H. Krause,¹ G. F. B. St. John,¹ W. Johnston,¹ F. Percy and Assistant-Surgeon P. Fitzpatrick.¹

None of these officers ever rejoined the 51st and barely half of them served again in other regiments.

In the beginning of July, 1819, the 51st furnished a detachment of 100 men who proceeded by sea to Harwich, and a few days later sent one company to Heligoland, the remainder of the regiment moving at different times and in separate transports to Chatham and Sheerness. The regimental headquarters landed at Chatham on the 21st and remained there until the 3rd May, 1820, when they proceeded to Romford and thence to Brighton, arriving here on the 10th and being joined at this place by the detachments from Sheerness and from Harwich which arrived on the 30th, while the company from Heligoland had rejoined headquarters on the 3rd May. The whole regiment was now assembled together at Brighton, but this desirable state of affairs was not of very long duration, since on the 12th and 13th July, 380 men proceeded to Chichester under Major Thwaites; on the 1st August, the 51st, leaving a hundred men at Brighton, marched to Croydon and neighbourhood; on the 18th these quarters were left for Woolwich, Greenwich and Deptford in relief of a party of the Guards; while the Greenwich companies were soon called in to Woolwich, and three companies were then ordered to Bow and Stratford, the detachment which had remained behind at Brighton rejoining headquarters at Woolwich on the 20th September. One would imagine that the above changes of station were almost enough for a regiment to undergo in the course of a year; but further moves were required of the Regiment before the year 1820 was out. On

¹ Served at Waterloo.

the 5th October, the 51st Light Infantry marched to Teddington, Twickenham and Isleworth, and only a few weeks later it left these places for Winchester which was reached on the 23rd and 24th November.

The worst of the winter was hardly past before a further change of quarters was ordered, and on the 21st February, 1821, the Regiment marched in three divisions from Winchester to Portsmouth, in relief of the 1st Battalion, 3rd Guards, the last division reaching its destination on the 24th February, when three companies were detached to Hilsea, while two other small detachments of fifty and thirty men respectively, each under a subaltern, were sent to Tipnor and Fort Cumberland. Early in April all these detachments seem to have been called in, when the whole Regiment was once more united at Portsmouth.

The following letter was received on the 14th April, and in consequence of it the officers were now permitted to wear the Oak-Leaf embroidered lace on their coatees :

“ Horse Guards, 11th April, 1821.

“ Sir,

“ I have the honour to acquaint you by direction of the Commander-in-Chief, that His Majesty has been graciously pleased to command that the 51st Light Infantry Regiment shall bear, in addition to its present County Title, the title of the 51st or “ The King’s Own ” Light Infantry Regiment, and that the Uniform of the Regiment shall be faced with blue and laced with gold.

“ I have the honour to be, etc., etc.

“ H. TORRENS, A.G.

“ To the Officer Commanding 51st Light Infantry Regiment.”

On the 18th April, the following Garrison Order was issued :—

“ Garrison Order, Portsmouth, 18th April, 1821.

“ The 51st Light Infantry will hold itself ready to embark for the Mediterranean at the shortest notice. The commanding officer is referred to a letter from the Adjutant-General which will be forwarded to him by the Brigade Major, and he will comply with the orders therein.”

Prior to its departure the Regiment was inspected by Major-General Sir George Cooke, K.C.B., on the 7th May, when its effective strength was 648 rank and file. The 51st embarked in two divisions: headquarters with four companies under Lieut.-Colonel Keyt (Lieut.-Colonel Rice being on leave) sailed in the transport *Star* on the 18th May, 1821, touching at Malta on the 14th June, and reaching Corfu on the 21st, when they marched into the Citadel and occupied Fort Neuf. The remaining six companies sailed on the 24th May, in the *Chapman* and *Thomas and Mary*, disembarked in Corfu on the 3rd July and joined the remainder of the Regiment.

On the 4th December, the 51st Light Infantry was inspected by Major-General Sir Frederick Adam, K.C.B., the effective strength then being 649 rank and file.

On the 14th February, Lieut.-Colonel Rice rejoined from leave of absence and resumed command of the Regiment.

On the 23rd October of this year an order was received from the Horse Guards for the reduction of establishment, and it was directed that the Regiment was now to be composed of one colonel, one lieut.-colonel, two majors, eight captains, nine lieutenants, seven ensigns, five staff, twenty-nine sergeants, twelve buglers and 526 rank and file. This reduction was to take effect from the 24th of the month following.

In May, 1822, several detachments were furnished by the 51st; three companies were sent to Santa Maura in June, another company was detached to Paxo; while small parties were also sent to Fano, Lazaretto, and to do duty on board the flotilla employed among the Ionian Islands. In September the Santa Maura detachment was augmented by a fourth company.

No event of outstanding importance appears to have occurred in the life of the 51st during the year 1823, but in the year following a considerable move took place. On the 22nd May, the headquarters and three companies embarked at Corfu for Cephalonia in the *Loyal Brison*, landing in that island on the 28th of the same month; the four companies which had been in garrison at Santa Maura sailed for Cephalonia in the transport *Joseph Green* on the 26th May, disembarking there on the 6th June; while one company proceeded from Cephalonia to Ithaca on the 29th May. (This company, together with the one which had been stationed at Paxo, returned to Cephalonia on board the *Baltic*, transport, on the 7th June, 1825). During the months of July, August and September, 1824, the Regiment suffered considerably from remittant fever which prevailed to a great degree in Cephalonia among the troops, as well as amongst the inhabitants of the island.

In the latter part of the year 1824, certain parts of the island were alarmed by some Greeks, who having broken out of quarantine, made their escape to the interior. It was necessary to try and effect the capture of these men, and Sir Charles Sutton, K.C.B., who was at this time Commandant and Resident, ordered a detachment of the 51st, consisting of a captain, two sergeants, two corporals and forty-seven men, to march to the Pillaro district. This party moved out on the 22nd December, and was later followed by a second of similar strength. The weather was particularly unfavourable, and the men suffered much from a service calling for exceptional vigilance and activity. The troops, however, accomplished the

purpose for which they were employed, capturing the fugitives and bringing them to justice. So good was the behaviour of the men that the Resident issued the following General Order on the final withdrawal of the detachments :—

“ *Argostoli, 20th February, 1825.*

“ *The detachments in the Pillaro districts having been finally withdrawn, and the important objects for which they were sent thither finally accomplished, the Commandant feels it but a measure of justice to express to Captain Flamank, the officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the first detachment, and to Captain St. Maur, the officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the relieving one, his warmest sentiments of unqualified satisfaction and approbation for the zealous, active, judicious, orderly and soldierlike conduct of those detachments, and for the highly exemplary manner in which the duties confided to them have been performed. It affords him the highest pleasure to be able to record in the Garrison Orders of this Island, that not a single instance of irregular or improper conduct has occurred during the whole time that those detachments have been at our quarters—a period of upwards of two months. This, while it gives the greatest honour to every individual so employed, bears the strongest testimony to and reflects the greatest credit upon the soldierlike character, discipline, and regulated spirit of the Regiment itself, and which he is happy in feeling himself called upon, in strict justice to merit, thus publicly to express his sentiments upon.*

“ *Charles Sutton, Colonel, Commandant.*”

By an order dated 14th May of this year, the 51st Light Infantry found its establishment augmented to four field officers, ten captains, ten lieutenants, ten ensigns, six staff, forty-two sergeants, fourteen buglers and 740 rank and file ; and soon after instructions were received to send to England four sergeants, four corporals and three buglers for the purpose of forming the depot companies. This party embarked on board the *William Harris*, transport, on the 31st October.

On the 23rd January, 1826, the headquarters and three companies of the Regiment sailed from Cephalonia in the *Vittoria*, arriving at Zante on the 25th, and the same ship brought three more companies to this island on the 1st February. The Ithaca detachment also rejoined headquarters about this time per the transport *Numa*. With the exception of detachments furnished to Cerigo in June, 1826, and May, 1827, the 51st remained stationed in Zante until the 31st May, 1827, serving under Major-Generals the Hon. F. C. Ponsonby and A. Woodford ; on this date Lieut.-Colonel Rice proceeded on leave, the command devolving upon Major Ross.

On the 3rd July, 1827, Sir Charles Sutton left for England, and prior to his departure issued the following valedictory order :—

“ Zante, 3rd July, 1827.

“ In quitting this command the Colonel Commanding feels himself called upon to express to the officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers comprising the same, his high sense of their high exemplary, orderly and soldierlike conduct since he has had the honour to have them under his command.

“ In taking leave of the 51st Regiment or King’s Own Light Infantry, with which he has now been serving for upwards of two years, he feels it but justice to record in Public Orders his opinion of their behaviour and comportment under all circumstances, both at headquarters and on detachment, which has characterized them collectively and individually during all this period ; a conduct equally creditable to themselves and to the high name and character of the British soldier, and which has deservedly insured to them the respect, cordial esteem and good wishes of the inhabitants amongst whom they are serving.”

The headquarters and 200 men of the 51st left Zante on the 5th January, 1828, for Corfu, and here the Regiment was as far as possible assembled. The Cerigo detachment under Captain Elliott was called in to Zante at the end of the month and came into Corfu with the rest of the battalion still at that place. On the 4th April, a detachment was sent to garrison Santa Maura—two officers and eighty-one other ranks ; on the 8th another party seventy-eight strong proceeded to Vido to assist in fortifying that island ; and on the 16th the Vido party was increased by the arrival of five officers and 166 other ranks. The whole detachment rejoined headquarters on relief on the 1st June.

During the next two years the Regiment continued to garrison these islands, the men being mainly employed in constructing fortifications, and there was no material change in the ordinary round until the 5th July, 1831, when Lieut.-Colonel Rice retired on half-pay. Lieut.-Colonel Charles Synge,¹ half-pay, unattached, was appointed to the command *vice* Rice, but he retired from the Service almost immediately without joining the Regiment and Major James Campbell was gazetted Lieut.-Colonel in his place, the date of his promotion being the 12th July.

In the General Orders of the 22nd November, 1831, the 51st Light Infantry was directed to be held in readiness to embark for England, but owing to unforeseen political circumstances its relief was indefinitely postponed, and the Regiment remained a further two years in Corfu.

¹ Formerly of the 20th Light Dragoons : he had been nearly ten years on half-pay.

On the 26th December, 1832, the following appeared in Garrison Orders :—

"The Major General Commanding' having concluded his half-yearly inspection of the Troops at Corfu (the Companies of the Royal Artillery, the Companies of the Royal Sappers and Miners, and the 10th, 51st, 88th and 95th Regiments, and 2nd Battalion Rifle Brigade) has a gratifying duty to perform in recording his approbation of the general good order which pervades those corps and their improvement in exercise and manœuvre.

"The Major-General has also every reason to feel satisfied with the discipline which has been maintained in these garrisons and with the exertions of officers of all ranks, to contribute to the good of the Service and to the honourable character of the Profession."

Captain C. W. Tyndall of the 51st signs this order as Brigade Major.

The Regiment was again stationed at Vido and employed on the fortifications from the 2nd December, 1832, to the 31st March, of the year following, when it returned to Corfu.

During the first week in September, 1833, a further notification having been received from the Horse Guards as to the approaching relief of the Regiment, the news was communicated to Lieut.-Colonel Campbell by the Major-General Commanding; his letter was published in battalion orders on the 9th September and it was directed to be read out on two successive parades :—

"Corfu, 8th September, 1833.

"My dear Colonel,

"The Regiment under your command being ordered to embark for England, I should not be doing justice to my own feelings were I not to take this opportunity of expressing to you my satisfaction at the general good conduct of the Corps since it has been under my immediate command, and, I may say, since it has been stationed in the Ionian Islands.

"In the course of this long period of service there have been few serious offences, the best proof of good disposition and orderly habits in the non-commissioned officers and soldiers, whose kindly bearing towards the inhabitants of these islands deserves my warmest commendation.

"The material of the Regiment is thoroughly good. On its return to England there will be probably more opportunity for close attention to the system of drill and exercise of the Corps, in which points it is still susceptible of much improvement.

"I request you will accept and offer to the Officers and the Corps generally my sincere good wishes for the future welfare of the 51st Regiment, whether at home or abroad.

"I have the honour to be, etc., etc.,

"A. WOODFORD, Major-General."

¹ Sir Alexander Woodford, K.C.B.

It was during the stay of the 51st Light Infantry in the Ionian Islands that the *Journal of Sergeant William Wheeler*, 51st, was there published—a little book from which much that is interesting about Peninsular and Waterloo days has been reproduced in this history.

In the latter part of November, 1833, the depot companies of the Regiment embarked on board H.M.S. *Romney* and sailed for Cork, where they landed on the 18th February, 1834, marching thence to Buttevant. The strength of these was five captains, ten lieutenants and ensigns, one staff, nine sergeants, four buglers and 307 rank and file.

The headquarters and remaining companies of the Regiment did not remain much longer in the Mediterranean. On the 18th April, 1834, the *Jupiter*, transport, reached Corfu from Malta with the relieving regiment, the 73rd, and the 51st finally embarked for home on the 25th April, under the command of Major W. H. Elliott, Lieut.-Colonel Campbell having proceeded to England overland. Its strength on embarkation was one major, four captains, seven subalterns, five staff, thirty-one sergeants, ten buglers and 417 rank and file. The Regiment was at this time in such good health, despite thirteen years' continuous service in these islands, that the hospital had been broken up for several days prior to embarkation, not a single case remaining for medical treatment; and on the final departure of the 51st only one man was left behind sick, and he only by reason of an injury from a fall.

The following flattering order was issued, on the embarkation of the Regiment, by the Major-General Commanding:—

“Corfu, 23rd April, 1834.

“*The 51st Regiment, the invalids, discharged soldiers and others proceeding to England will embark on Friday morning the 25th inst. at six o'clock, on board His Majesty's Troopship 'Jupiter' from the Citadel Ditch.*

“*The Deputy Quartermaster General will make the necessary arrangements for the above service.*

“*During a period of thirteen years' service in this command, the general good conduct and the interior order of the 51st Regiment have been highly creditable to its character. Often dispersed in small detachments and working parties in remote parts of the several islands, the conciliatory and peaceable disposition of the Corps has attracted the respect and esteem of the inhabitants.*

“*Major-General Sir Alexander Woodford assures Lieut.-Colonel Campbell, Officers, Non-commissioned Officers and Soldiers of the 51st Regiment that they carry with them his warmest wishes for their future welfare and prosperity.*”¹

¹ Signed by “C. W. Tyndall, Assistant Deputy Adjutant General.”

Nor were the inhabitants of the Ionian Islands backward in giving expression to the regret with which they viewed the departure of the Regiment which had served so long in their midst, as may be seen from the following letter :—

“ Corfu, 10th May, 1834.

“ To Lieut.-Colonel Campbell, commanding 51st K.O.L.I., Corfu.

“ Sir,

“ The gentlemen of Corfu would fail in their duty, did they not at the moment of your departure hasten to express to you the high estimation which your distinguished conduct, as well as that of every officer and soldier in your Corps, has inspired them with during the long period of their sojourn in this country ; and at the same time to declare to you the sincere gratitude they feel for the services you have rendered them, requesting you to convey in public orders to your Regiment the thanks they now beg to offer, accompanied with their most ardent prayers for the glory and prosperity of your Corps, and that of the King your master, sole protector of these islands. Wishing you a happy voyage, they have the honour to be, Colonel,

“ Your very humble and obedient Servants,

“ George, Capo d'Istria.

“ Count Marino Marmore.

“ Count S. Bulgari.”

and sixty other noblemen and gentlemen.

The *Jupiter* anchored in Gibraltar harbour on the 11th May, and by reason of contrary winds was detained there until the 21st, when the voyage was resumed and the Cove of Cork was reached on the 11th June, the voyage having taken some seven weeks. The Regiment disembarked into steamers on the 12th June, for Cork, and after halting there one night in billets, marched next morning by way of Mallow to Buttevant, and there joined the depot companies on the 14th.

On the 1st July, Captain Hood's company was detached to Doneraile, sending forward a party under Lieutenant Errington to Castletown Roche.

The Regiment was inspected by Major-General Thomas Arbuthnot on the 5th July, 1834, when its effective strength, including detachments, was four field officers, ten captains, twenty subaltern officers, six staff, forty sergeants, fourteen buglers and 715 rank and file. At this inspection the 51st was commanded by Major Ross. This inspection completed, Captain St. Maur's company was ordered to Charleville.

The detachments stationed at Charleville, Castletown Roche and Doneraile marched into headquarters on the 4th November, they

having been relieved by similar detachments furnished by the 89th Regiment.

In January, 1835, in consequence of the dissolution of Parliament and the new elections, the Regiment furnished detachments to Killarney, Cahirciveen, Millstreet, Macroom, Doneraile, Castle-town Roche and Charleville. Two of these were withdrawn on the 9th and 18th February, and others were sent to Wexford and Inniscorthy. Early in July all these parties were called in and rejoined headquarters at Kilkenny, whither it had moved on the 23rd February in relief of the 60th Rifles. Then on the 5th October, the Regiment marched in three divisions to Dublin, arriving on the 9th, 10th and 12th October, and occupying the Royal Barracks.

In those days, and up to a comparatively recent date, changes of quarters were very frequent, and on the 18th February, 1836, the Regiment was again broken up and distributed as under :—

Four companies and headquarters to Beggars' Bush Barracks.

Three „ to George Street Barracks.

Two " to Portobello Barracks.

One company remaining in the Royal Barracks.

This arrangement endured only until the 6th May, when the 51st Light Infantry was ordered to Belfast; the march commenced, in the usual three divisions, on the 9th, and on arrival in the north, eight companies were quartered in Belfast, the remaining two being distributed in Carrickfergus and Downpatrick. In Belfast, the Regiment came under command of Major-General Sir J. McDonnell, commanding the Northern District. Its strength, when inspected by this officer on the 11th October of this year, is given as two field officers, six captains, fourteen lieutenants and ensigns, five staff, thirty sergeants, eleven buglers, and 463 rank and file, for the eight headquarter companies, the actual strength all ranks at this time being 701.

Early in May, 1837, orders had been received for the 51st to be held in readiness to proceed to Cork, and the necessary arrangements had been put in hand, but on the 14th the orders were cancelled and Colonel Campbell was informed that the destination of the Regiment was Van Diemen's Land, and that as a preliminary step it was to move from Belfast to Newry for embarkation there for passage to Bristol. The 51st accordingly proceeded to embark on the 22nd May, headquarters and right wing under Major Elliott in the *Victory*, and the left wing in the *Herald*. The embarking strength was thirty-nine sergeants, thirty-two corporals, fourteen buglers and 600 privates.

Bristol was reached on the 24th, when the Regiment disembarked, and was billeted for the night in the town, marching in three divisions

on the 25th, 26th and 27th to Chatham *via* Chippenham, Marlborough, Hatcham, Kingston, Browsley and Dartford, the whole Regiment being assembled at its destination on the 8th June.

The 51st did not sail immediately for Van Diemen's Land, nor did it proceed thither as a complete unit, but portions of it seem to have been sent out separately as "guards" to bodies of convicts who had been sentenced to transportation as these made up a convenient ship-load. Thus the first "guard" under Major Elliott sailed on the 13th August from Gravesend for Dublin, whence it finally left in the convict-ship *Neptune* on the 25th September, some months in advance of the remainder of the Regiment.

New Colours had lately been received, but there had been no opportunity for their presentation, principally due to the fact that Colonel Campbell had met with a severe accident shortly after rejoining the Regiment from leave on its arrival at Chatham; but it was now decided that the ceremony should take place as privately as possible. Thursday, the 15th March, 1838, being fixed upon, at 3 p.m. the six companies present at headquarters were formed in line in Brompton Barracks, the old Colours, decorated with laurel and carried by Ensigns Corbett and Irby, being in the centre. On the arrival of Lieut.-Colonel Campbell a three-sided square was formed on the two centre companies, when the Colonel thus addressed the Regiment:—

"Soldiers!

"You are now about to take leave of two good old companions, who have served with you and shared in all your toils for many years—I mean these Colours. I know, and indeed I am certain, that you look upon them for the last time with great regret, because I feel convinced that, if left to yourselves, you would rather stick to your old friends, ragged as they are, with whose faces you are so familiar, than commence any new acquaintance; but nevertheless the best and the oldest friends must part; those Colours have done their duty and you have amply fulfilled yours towards them. They are as you see, like some of ourselves, a little the worse for wear, and it is but fair they should be relieved, yet we must not allow them to depart without paying them every respect and compliment they deserve. They require no pension, but they must not leave us without a general salute."

The old Colours were now marched round the square, the Regiment presenting arms, and then taken under escort to the commanding officer's quarters, where they were lodged; the new Colours received by Major St. Maur and Captain Ainsworth, and escorted by No. 1 Company to the centre of the square, were then handed by

Mrs. Campbell to Ensigns Corbett and Irby, who received them kneeling. After presenting them, Mrs. Campbell said :—

" I feel great pleasure in being permitted to present these Colours to the 51st. I am sure you will guard them faithfully, and that whenever you may be called upon in their defence, you will maintain the high character of the Corps to which you have the honour to belong. May God bless and protect you and every member of the 51st."

The Regiment then presented arms to the new Colours and Colonel Campbell gave the following address :—

" Soldiers !

" Your old friends are gone. These new Colours have been presented you by a Lady who has shared in the fortunes of the Regiment from the battle of Waterloo to this day, and whose interest and anxiety for the welfare and character of the Regiment must be well known to all of you. I do not think it necessary for me to say a great deal with regard to these Colours : there they are—look at them ! There are many young soldiers now among you who had not the good fortune to participate in those glorious victories with which they are emblazoned, but the time may come when an opportunity may be offered for adding to the illustrious deeds already recorded. I have no need to speak of the valour of the Regiment—that has always been conspicuous—all I say is, let the young soldiers imitate the old in the 51st and they will not go wrong. Remember one thing, my friends, that the character of a Regiment does not actually depend upon bravery in the field, a great deal depends upon your conduct in garrison and in quarters. In that respect you have always maintained the highest reputation, and I sincerely trust that, go where we may, you will continue to deserve it."

The Colours were then trooped and the Regiment marched past in slow and quick time.

On the 26th June, Lieut.-Colonel Campbell left the 51st, exchanging to half-pay with Colonel Freke, Major Elliott succeeding to the Lieut.-Colonelcy by purchase *vice* Freke who retired, and Captain Mainwaring obtaining his majority.

The headquarters embarked for New South Wales on the 26th July, in the *Earl Grey*, and the last " guard " formed by the 51st left Deptford for Van Diemen's Land on the 22nd June, 1839, in the convict-ship *Laxton*. Captain Errington remained behind in England in command of the depot.

There is nothing especially worthy of record respecting the Regiment from the time of its arrival in Van Diemen's Land in 1838 and 1839, to its embarkation for India some six or seven years later ; and such events as occurred may here briefly be mentioned. On the 21st April, 1840, two captains, four subalterns, one assistant surgeon,

six sergeants, eight corporals and 124 privates were detached from headquarters, and embarked for Swan River and King George's Town, Western Australia.

In October, 1841, the new percussion arms which had been sent out from England to the Regiment were distributed in Hobart Town.

Until the last year of its stay in the Colony the 51st had the harassing duty of marching the convict gangs; it was much detached, at one time as many as fifteen detachments being furnished to different parts of the continent, and some of these were sub-divided into smaller bodies, leaving at headquarters in Hobart Town only Lieut.-Colonel Elliott, four captains, three lieutenants, three ensigns, three staff, nine sergeants, six corporals, five buglers and 120 privates. The detachments occupied George Town, Launceston, Westbury, Perth, Avoca, Campbell Town, Oaklands, Green Ponds, Bridgewater, Malcolm's Huts, Waterloo Point, Port Arthur, and Eagle Hawk Neck, besides the places held by the smaller detachments; and throughout this very trying time the 51st Light Infantry worthily upheld its high character for discipline and good conduct.

Lieutenant B. C. G. Crookshank, of the 51st, when in charge of a convict guard, received several severe wounds by the accidental discharge of a pistol in an attempt made by the convicts to surprise the guard.

In August, 1844, the strength of the Regiment was fifty-two sergeants, nineteen corporals and 938 privates.

About the end of this year the 51st was placed under orders to embark for India, but in consequence of the serious disturbances in New Zealand, its departure was postponed. Before, however, the time finally came for it to take its departure, the Regiment was to lose the services of one who had served with it some six and thirty years, Captain and Paymaster Gibbs being obliged by reason of ill-health to leave for England on the 15th March, 1846. He was a general favourite and his departure to half-pay was universally regretted by all ranks of the Regiment in which he had served so long.

At last, on the 8th August, 1846, the headquarters and 500 men of the 51st under Lieut.-Colonel Elliott, embarked for Bengal in the *Agincourt*, another party sailing the same day in the *China* with Major Errington, while the rest of the Regiment remained at Hobart Town and Swan River under Lieut.-Colonel St. Maur. The *Agincourt* and the *China* arrived safely in the Hooghly, only to find that the destination of the Regiment had been changed and that it was to be stationed in Madras, and here it arrived, the headquarters on the 2nd November, and the second party on the 8th: the two divisions, having been disembarked, marched forthwith to Poonamallee.

In February, 1847, so much of the 51st Light Infantry as was stationed at Poonamallee was transferred thence to Bangalore, coming there under the command of Major-General Aitchison, commanding the Mysore Division ; and here, on the 26th June of this year, the third division of the Regiment which had remained at Hobart Town, Van Diemen's Land, on the departure of headquarters for India, at last rejoined and the whole Regiment was then re-united. This party consisted of two captains, four lieutenants and ensigns, and 310 other ranks, under Lieut.-Colonel St. Maur ; it embarked on the troopship *Java*, on the 27th January, 1847, touched at Swan River on the 2nd March to take on board the detachments which had there been stationed, sailed again on the 15th and arrived at Calcutta on the 23rd April. Here they were disembarked and were accommodated for a week in Fort William, left again on the 2nd May in the *Precursor*, disembarked at Madras on the 9th and marched to Poonamallee, where they were stationed till the 5th June, when the party started to join headquarters at Bangalore.

Here in December, the Regiment was inspected by Major-General Aitchison, when the strength was two field officers, seven captains, twenty-six lieutenants and ensigns, six staff and 1110 other ranks.

At Bangalore the 51st found itself in garrison with the 15th (The King's Hussars), which had been there stationed since March, 1840. This appears to have been the first occasion upon which the two regiments had met since the night crossing of the River Esla in May, 1813. About this time of the arrival of the 51st in Bangalore, it is recorded that at a dinner given to the 15th Hussars a remarkable scene occurred. Colonel Lovell, who had brought the 15th out to India from home and who was then commanding the Bangalore Brigade, in proposing or responding to a toast, reminded those present that it was not the first time that the 15th Hussars and the 51st Light Infantry had met, that at the crossing of the Esla in the Peninsula, the 15th were detailed to assist the 51st through it, and then proceeded to tell the story of how an ensign of the 51st was carried away by the stream and would have been drowned had not a Hussar rescued him by swimming his horse to his assistance. At this point Major Mainwaring of the 51st rose in his seat and, greatly moved, stated that *he* was the ensign thus saved four and thirty years ago !

The Regiment was again inspected by Major-General Aitchison at Bangalore in June, 1848, when the strength is given at one field officer, five captains, twenty-four subalterns, six staff and 1140 other ranks.

The stay of the 51st in this station was, for those days, a comparatively long one, since it was not until the 15th December, 1849, that

YEARS OF PEACE—1816-1852

the headquarters and five companies left Bangalore for Madras, and occupied quarters in Fort St. George on the 8th January, 1850, being joined here some three weeks later by the remainder of the Regiment. But in June of this year, by reason of the over-crowded state of the barracks in the Fort, two companies of the 51st were detached to Poonamallee; these companies were relieved regularly every three months and this arrangement endured until early in 1852, when, after long years of peace soldiering, the 51st Light Infantry was again called into the field.

THE SECOND BURMA WAR

1852-1854

XVII

THE first Burma War, which began in March, 1824, ended rather less than two years later with the defeat of the Burmese forces, to which their monarch had given the honourable appellation of "Retrievers of the King's Glory," and which had been led by a warrior bearing the formidable titles of "Prince of Darkness," "King of Hell," and "Prince of the Setting Sun." On the 9th February, 1826, the Burmese were driven with great slaughter from a position they had taken up at Pagan Myo, and the "Retrievers of the King's Glory" fled in small parties all over the country, while the "Prince of the Setting Sun," having incautiously brought the news of his defeat to his king at Ava, was at once put to death.

The British continued their advance, and at Yandabo, only four marches from the capital, they were met by delegates from the king empowered to accept whatever terms the British might see fit to impose, and on the 24th February a treaty was signed which appeared to guarantee the security of our merchants and of our commerce, and to hold out some promise of a lasting and mutually advantageous friendship between the British and the Burmese. The Burmese lost all the territories which, in past days, they had taken from the Siamese; Arakan, which had been conquered by the last Burman monarch; while they were excluded from all future interest in Assam, Cachar and Manipur, where hitherto they had been paramount.

The Burmese, however, were an arrogant folk and were not prepared to admit that they had been defeated, as may be seen from the following highly-coloured account of the war and subsequent peace which appears in the "Royal Chronicles" of that period. "In the years 1186 and 1187" (of the Burman era), we read, "the white strangers of the west fastened a quarrel upon the Lord of the Golden Palace. They landed at Rangoon, took that place, and Prome, and were permitted to advance as far as Yandabo; for the King, from motives of piety and regard for life, made no preparations whatever to oppose them. The strangers had spent vast sums of money in their enterprise, so that by the time they reached Yandabo their resources were exhausted and they were in great distress. They then petitioned

the King, who in his clemency and generosity sent them large sums of money to pay their expenses back, and ordered them out of the country."

When an eastern nation is taught thus to regard a serious defeat, it is only a question of time when they will again offend and draw upon themselves serious trouble, and within a very few years it became evident that the Indian Government would, sooner or later, be again compelled to assert its rights and compel compliance with the terms of the Treaty by force of arms.

The King who had sought the first war, was deposed shortly after the conclusion of peace and was succeeded by his brother, who adopted the title of King Tharrawaddy, and absolutely refused to be in any way bound by his brother's treaty. He appears to have confined himself to treating successive British residents with great indignity, so that the Residency was first removed from Ava to Rangoon, and finally altogether withdrawn. King Tharrawaddy died in 1846, and his son and successor followed in his footsteps, while the different provincial governors, taking their tone from the Court, recommenced those exactions from British traders which had helped to bring on the war of 1824.

The Indian Government for some time took no steps to enforce the treaty; its hands were very full during these years, for the disastrous Kabul campaign of 1842 had been succeeded by the brief Gwalior campaign, while this again had been followed after a comparatively short interval by the two wars with the Sikhs, and every armed man that the Government could raise was required either in India itself or in the north-western provinces.

But in 1851, Lord Dalhousie, then Governor-General, was able to look about him and to devote his attention to the consideration of the reports, which for some time past had been coming to hand, of outrageous cases of extortion on British residents and merchants at Rangoon. The recital of the grievances of British subjects was so long and the facts brought to light were so serious that Lord Dalhousie at once dispatched a squadron under Commodore Lambert to Rangoon with a peremptory order to the Burman Governor to mend his ways, and bearing a letter from the Governor-General to the King of Burma which was to be forwarded to that Monarch should the Governor of Rangoon fail to comply with the demands made by the President in Council.

There appears to be no object in recounting all that now took place—the studied insolence of the Burmese, their repeated evasions of the terms of the Treaty, the continual extortions to which British residents and merchants were subjected; but finally matters came to such a pass that Commodore Lambert took all the British

inhabitants of Rangoon on board the ships of his squadron, and on the 8th January, 1852, dropped down the river, accompanied by all the British merchantmen, and by a Burman Royal ship which he had seized. A heavy fire was opened by the Burmese on the fleet reaching certain obstructions which had been placed in the river, but these were successfully passed, and the Burmese were driven from their entrenchments with considerable loss by the guns of the men-of-war. The Second Burmese War had begun.

The Government had made preparations betimes and a force of 5,800 men was detailed to make up the expeditionary corps, the command being given to Major-General H. Godwin, C.B., who had served with the 41st Foot in the former war.

The force was drawn partly from Bengal and partly from Madras. Bengal contributed a company of artillery and an infantry brigade composed of the 18th and 80th Foot and the 40th Native Infantry, under the command of Brigadier-General Warren; while the Madras force was composed of three companies of artillery, two companies of sappers, and an infantry brigade of four battalions, *viz.*, the 51st Light Infantry, the 5th, 9th and 35th Regiments of Native Infantry under Brigadier-General W. H. Elliott, K.H., of the 51st.

The Bengal Brigade, accompanied by General Godwin, arrived off the mouth of the Rangoon River on the 2nd April, and on the same day Commodore Lambert in the *Proserpine* proceeded up stream to ascertain whether any reply was intended to Lord Dalhousie's letter; but being fired on, the Commodore returned, when the last hopes of a peaceful settlement vanished and hostilities now began.

The Madras force was late at the place of rendezvous off Rangoon, the Governor of Madras having apparently misread his instructions, and the troops, which should have sailed for Rangoon on the 24th March, did not actually sail until the 31st. General Godwin did not, however, await their arrival before opening the campaign, and proceeded at once to Moulmein to make arrangements for the reduction of Martaban, where the Burmese were said to be in considerable force. He reached Moulmein on the 4th April, and taking on with him a wing each of the 18th and 80th, and also the 26th Madras Native Infantry which had been there in garrison, he moved on the 5th to Martaban, which was bombarded by the naval guns. The infantry were then landed, and carried the place by storm with but trifling loss. The 26th Madras Native Infantry having been left to hold Martaban, the rest of the force returned to Rangoon on the 8th to find that the Madras brigade had now arrived.

This force embarked at Madras early on the 31st March in a fleet of ten vessels, the total, officers, other ranks and followers, being

4,388. The headquarters and right wing of the 51st was on board the H.E.I.C.'s steam-frigate *Feroze*, under Lieut.-Colonel St. Maur, while Major A. C. Errington commanded the left wing sailing in the H.E.I.C.'s ship *Sesostriis*. By noon all the troops had embarked, anchors were weighed, and the voyage began across the Bay of Bengal to the rendezvous at Elephant Point at the entrance to the Rangoon River. The weather was fine, but the ships were greatly over-crowded, men and officers having to lie at night on the decks with no cover but their great coats, while there were no awnings to protect the troops from the sun by day and the dew by night. The day after leaving Madras, Colour-Sergeant Moore, of the 51st, was seized with cholera on the *Feroze*, dying in a few hours. It was very fortunate that this was an isolated case, for had the disease spread among ships so crowded with troops and followers, its ravages must have been terrible indeed.

On Saturday, the 10th April, the fleet sailed up the river towards Rangoon, and on arriving near the town on the morning of the 11th, the vessels took up a position between the entrenched positions of Dalla on the left and Rangoon on the right, and being fired on by the Burmese the ships replied with broadsides, silencing the works, and permitting of the landing of a party of the Royal Irish and Marines who captured and destroyed the fortifications at Dalla. The enemy had kept up a heavy fire from 12- and 18-pounders so long as they were able; the shot flew over the decks of the steamers, the *Feroze* had part of her rigging shot away, while on board the *Sesostriis* Ensign A. N. Armstrong, of the 51st Light Infantry, was struck on the shoulder by a round shot, dying in two hours.

A red-hot shot from the *Sesostriis* set on fire a large stockade on the Rangoon bank, south-west of the great Shwe Dagon Pagoda, causing the explosion of a powder magazine, and by 2 p.m. the stockades and part of the town were burning fiercely and fire had ceased on both sides.

Everything was now ready for the landing of the troops, which was arranged to commence at 4 a.m. on the 12th April, and the troops disembarked under a well-sustained fire from the steamers. The first party was composed of the 18th, 51st, the 40th Bengal Native Infantry and the Sappers and Miners, the men having sixty rounds of ammunition in their pouches and one day's cooked rations on them. The second landing party consisted of a wing of the 80th Foot with the 9th and 35th Madras Native Infantry.

Major-General Godwin landed with the first division and, with the troops at hand, at once pushed on to the attack of the enemy's position at the Shwe Dagon Pagoda, meaning to advance by a

circuitous route and attack on the eastern side. Four companies of the 51st Light Infantry formed the advance and with them were four guns of the Bengal Artillery. These had not, however, proceeded far when on gaining some rising ground to the right they were fired on by the enemy's guns, while strong parties of skirmishers appeared in the jungle and attacked both flanks of the column.

The skirmishers were driven off, and the march being resumed, the enemy was found strongly posted in a work known as the White House Stockade, whence their artillery fire appeared to proceed, and against this work the four guns with the advance came into action at a range of about 800 yards. The small amount of ammunition with the British guns was quickly exhausted and they had to be withdrawn, and though their places were soon taken by two 24-pounder howitzers these were from the same reason not able for very long to remain in action. It was now 11 a.m., the heat was terrific, Major Oakes, Madras Artillery, and Major Griffith, Brigade Major, were struck down by the sun, dying the same evening, while Brigadier-General Warren, Lieut.-Colonels Foord, Royal Artillery, and St. Maur, 51st, suffered severely.

A storming party was now formed to attack the White House Stockade, made up of the four companies of the 51st, still forming the advance, and the Sappers with the ladders, and the account of all that happened may best be given in the report furnished by Major Errington of the 51st, who took Lieut.-Colonel St. Maur's place, when that officer was incapacitated from the effects of the sun. The report is addressed to Major-General Godwin, is dated Rangoon, May 12th, 1852, and runs as follows :—

“ Sir,

“ I have the honour with your kind sanction to forward the following detailed narrative of the operations of a wing of the regiment now under my command, in the attack on the White House Stockade, on the morning of the 12th April, 1852.

“ In explanation it is necessary for me to state that Lieut.-Colonel St. Maur commanded H.M.'s 51st on the morning of the 12th, and of course accompanied the right wing. He was seriously indisposed from the effects of the sun. Upon the wing rejoining the regiment, I assumed command on the 13th, and marched the regiment into the Great Pagoda on the 14th; but the command was not formally given over to me until the 4th inst., when Lieut.-Colonel St. Maur proceeded on leave to Madras. This, I trust, will account for my report not having been sent to you as soon as the operations had been brought to a conclusion.

“ 1. On the morning of the 12th, the right wing of H.M.'s 51st, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel St. Maur, was directed

to advance with orders to support the guns, to cover the flanks, and eventually to storm the stockade.

" 2. After passing the guns, No. 1 Company, under the command of Lieutenant Singleton, was ordered to cover the front of the reserve ; but was immediately reinforced, by your orders, by No. 2 Company under Captain Manners. I believe you were an eye-witness of the steady manner in which these companies skirmished. A sharp fire was opened upon these skirmishers and steadily returned by them.

" 3. These skirmishers had not advanced far when the two left sub-divisions were ordered to clear the jungle, on the left of the covered pathway, leading to the front face of the stockade. The two right sub-divisions moved over some rising ground leading to the left face of the stockade, and encountered a great number of the enemy's skirmishers, whom, according to Captain Manners' report, they drove before them in the most gallant manner. It was here that Captain Manners was requested by an officer of Engineers to render him assistance in getting the scaling-ladders carried to the front, which was immediately complied with by this officer ; but on emerging from the wood, and when within one hundred yards of the stockade, Captain Manners saw several of the 51st soldiers entering by the steps and over the parapet, upon which he left the ladders and entered himself by the front.

" 4. I should be much wanting in my duty were I not here to call to your notice the skilful conduct of Lieutenant Pilmer, who commanded the left sub-division of No. 1 Company. This officer observed that the reserve was suffering from the enemy's fire in front ; he therefore made a dash with his sub-division to take the enemy in rear, which was no sooner observed by the enemy than they evacuated the front face, and sallied out by the rear in great numbers, apparently with the intention of making for the stockade at some distance in the rear of the White House. Thus was this officer's object partially effected, and it would have been completed, by cutting off the whole party, had he not been prevented by Captain Latter, who ordered the men not to follow further.

" 5. The reserve, consisting of No. 3 Company, under Captain Darroch, No. 5 under Captain Blundell, and No. 6 under the command of Lieutenant Madden, was ordered to halt in some open cover ; but only for a few seconds. It was here, when ordered to advance to storm the stockade, that Captain Blundell, when in the act of gallantly leading on his men, was shot in the abdomen by a musket ball—the wound proving fatal in a few days ; his loss is deeply regretted by officers and men ; his cheerfulness and thoughtfulness for the sufferings of others were remarkable whilst being carried to the rear. The non-commissioned officers and soldiers of

No. 5 Company will long regret the loss of their brave commander. Captain Darroch, calling upon his men to follow him, moved rapidly up to the stockade, where he found some ladders being reared by the soldiers of the 51st, who placed them and went up them afterwards. Captain Darroch, calling out, 'On, men, the place is our own!' pushed forward with the greatest alacrity, and in a few moments he and his men were in the stockade. The ladders alluded to were placed against the parapet by order of Lieutenant Madden, commanding No. 6 Company, by which the men entered the stockade, Lieutenant Madden leading the way.

"Before concluding my report, which has been drawn up from those sent in to me by the officers commanding the different companies, I beg to bring to your notice the gallant conduct of Major Hare, of the regiment under my command, who mounted the first ladder, following Captain Rundall, of the Madras Engineers, who was preceded by Major Fraser, of the Bengal Engineers. It affords me pleasure to inform you that the latter officer reported to me, after our operations had terminated, that a European soldier was the first man in the stockade who, I conclude, must have been a soldier of the 51st, as no other European regiment was engaged in the attack. I believe the soldier to have been Private Johnson, of Captain Blundell's company. . . ."

The Burmese fled precipitately on the stockade being carried, leaving many dead about the place; amongst these was a warrior wearing a red jacket having on it the buttons of the 50th Regiment.

The casualties among the 51st Light Infantry this day were Captain W. Blundell mortally wounded, one sergeant, two corporals and eleven privates wounded.

The work now captured was found to be very strong and much trouble seems to have been taken in its construction. In the first Burmese War the White House was surrounded by a brick wall, and this had been further enclosed with a stockade, at a distance of about ten feet, the intervening space being filled with rammed earth. This formed an excellent parapet on to which the Burmese could drag their guns; of these there were many both of iron and brass. In front of the work was a small ditch. The White House stood in the centre of the enclosure and was approached by a steep flight of steps, while inside the house was a huge figure of Buddha.

At night the force bivouacked on the open plain without shelter of any kind; the bivouac was once disturbed by the enemy sniping into it, but otherwise the night passed quietly for the party on shore, since during the hours of darkness the ships continued to fire upon the town, the greater part of which was soon burning fiercely.

It is said that some curious circumstances preceded and to some extent foreshadowed the deaths of Captain Blundell and Ensign Armstrong. A few days before the Regiment embarked at Madras some of the officers obtained light cavalry swords out of store, as substitutes for their regulation weapons, supplied, many of them, by the tailors who had made their uniforms. Armstrong was one of those who made such an exchange. On the evening before embarkation, while the officers were snatching a hasty dinner, Captain Medhurst got up to prove his sword; he did so by bending it. Armstrong, who was in the room, then got up, saying: "This is the way to prove a sword," at the same time making a violent lunge at the wall. The sword broke in two; startled by the mishap, he threw the hilt on the floor, remarking in a depressed tone of voice, "I shall never draw a sword against the Burmese." His words came true, for he never landed.

On the same evening Medhurst commenced drawing on the wall with a piece of charcoal imaginary battles that were to be fought in Burma. One scene represented a fort, outside which the Regiment was shown in the act of assaulting. The prominent figures in the sketch represented his brother officers. One of these, more portly than the rest, was intended for Captain Blundell, who, while well in front of his company and gallantly leading it on, was represented as being struck in the stomach with a round shot. At the very moment the sketch was completed, Blundell entered the room. His attention being called to it, some remarks were made as to his portliness and his consequently smaller chance than others of escaping injury. He looked anxiously at the sketch through his eye-glass, and deprecated the joking which arose out of his anxiety. Strangely enough, the sketch faithfully represented his exact position when the fatal shot struck him in front of the White House Stockade.

It was not considered advisable to continue the advance on the 13th, as the Commissariat was unable to get the troops rationed in time for them to march before the heat of the day began, and the day was therefore occupied in further reconnoitring the enemy's position, and especially in disembarking and bringing into camp four eight-inch iron howitzers which Major-General Godwin was anxious to have with him.

On the 14th April the troops were under arms at 5 a.m., and the 80th Regiment with four guns in the advance, moved in a north-westerly direction to attack the main enemy position near the Shwe Dagon Pagoda. The enemy had assumed that the advance of the British would be by a road leading from the town to the southern face of the Pagoda, and here every preparation for defence had been made, the position being armed with nearly a hundred guns and held

by a garrison of at least 10,000 men. Major-General Godwin, therefore, decided to turn the position, and taking a circuitous route brought his troops opposite the eastern face of the Pagoda. After some delay, occasioned by the difficulty of bringing the heavy guns through the jungle, and of finding a suitable position for them, the artillery opened fire, making very good practice on the town and pagoda. Meanwhile a galling fire was kept up by the Burmese, and there were several casualties among the Royal Irish and 80th, the men of which regiments were in close order by reason of the enclosed nature of the ground.

The following account of the events of this day is taken from the diary of Lieutenant R. Pilmer, 51st Light Infantry: "The 80th and 18th were in front, followed by the 40th Bengal Native Infantry, then came the 51st K.O.L.I. and the 35th Madras Native Infantry, the 9th Native Infantry standing fast to keep open communications with the shipping. Soon after the 80th had gone forward the firing began with the enemy's skirmishers, the 80th advancing close up to the Pagoda, which position they kept until the heavy guns commenced firing though without much apparent effect, for not one of the guns in the Pagoda or stockade was silenced by the fire of our artillery throughout the whole day. The fire of the enemy, though extremely heavy, did no great execution, for our troops were pretty well sheltered by some high banks, consequently the loss was comparatively trifling. No. 1 Company was again sent out flanking when we moved off in the morning, but we saw nothing of the enemy, and on getting our right flank clear of the same we were recalled. As the company was forming up, a six-pounder from the Pagoda came whizzing past my ear—so close that I felt the wind of it distinctly enough—and then plunged into the middle of the company without doing any damage. Our fellows were certainly very firm and steady considering they had never been under fire before and were all young soldiers. We continued to advance at a slow pace until the whole line of stockade and the Great Pagoda were visible; we were then ordered to halt and break off, sheltering ourselves under the banks or anything else that would answer the purpose of warding off the enemy's fire until the artillery had made some kind of a breach through which the place might be stormed. The artillery being unable to effect a breach, the General determined to storm the Pagoda by the eastern gate. Two companies of the 80th with two companies of the 18th were to form the storming party; they were supported by the remainder of the 80th and 18th Regiments, followed by the 51st K.O.L.I., of which two companies were sent out to skirmish through the wood and jungle on the right and left of the column. After the left sub-division had extended and got some distance in advance I

observed a body of the enemy, about two or three hundred men, retiring from the south-east angle of the Pagoda and making for the town. I started in pursuit, but they had all got away into the town before I reached the first plateau encircling the Pagoda.

"To follow with my small party would be madness, so I marched for the Pagoda and entered it with the stormers of the 18th Royal Irish. There was no enemy to oppose us. I then saw, amongst other extraordinary things, the Rangoon Flag.¹ This I made a rush at, and secured it, thinking it the greatest prize that could possibly fall to my lot."

At the close of the same report by Major Errington, from which extracts have been already given, he wrote: "On the 14th, after the storming party had advanced to the attack of the Great Pagoda, you ordered me to throw out two companies of the 51st. One of these companies, under the command of Lieutenant Singleton, skirmished through the jungle up to the eastern face of the stockade; but observing a great number of the enemy escaping from the Upper Pagoda, he made for the south-east angle. He entered, following closely upon the storming party. The other company, under the command of Captain Manners, acted under your personal orders, and entered the Great Pagoda with you at the east entrance."

On the 14th the 51st had one man killed, one mortally wounded, and a sergeant slightly wounded.

From a diary of an officer with the force the following is taken: "The General is very popular, being always kind in his deportment to all who address him. His disregard of his own personal safety, and of the bullets of the enemy on the 12th and 14th April, the cool manner he rode about, when many about him were bobbing their heads, stamp him as a brave man. On one occasion, when exposed to the enemy's fire, I heard him soundly rate, though in a kind way, some European soldiers for bobbing their heads. The cocked hat he wore rendered his vicinity anything but safe. Brigadier Elliott" (51st) "quite equalled the General in an utter disregard of bullets. No man in the field, on the 12th and 14th, was more exposed or behaved with more coolness, than did the two old soldiers."

After the capture of the Pagoda the Burmese Army retired northward, and the people of Rangoon, relieved from oppression, readily returned to their homes, while the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages brought in supplies and offered their services as transport coolies to the British. Forewarned by the last war, Lord Dalhousie had taken every precaution against any outbreak of disease at Rangoon.

¹ This flag was given to the 1st Battalion K.O.Y.L.I. on the 1st August, 1892, by Lieutenant Pilmer's daughter. Lieutenant Pilmer died in Burma on the 18th May, 1853.

A large stock of cattle had been collected there by the civil authorities before the arrival of the troops, while large wooden barracks, built in Moulmein, were sent in sections to Rangoon, so that it was not long before the whole force was huttet.

The Burmese troops from Martaban did not retire to any great distance after the capture of that place, and on the 11th and 14th April they returned and attacked our picquets. They were, however, easily driven off, and on hearing of the fall of Rangoon, they also retreated to the north.

With Martaban and Rangoon now in our hands, Major-General Godwin, partly in view of seizing the whole coast line, partly to prevent any attack on the south of Arakan, next turned his attention to the capture of Bassein.

It was high time that the force should move on and again become active, for the stay in and about Rangoon, amidst the stench and ruins of the captured town, had led to much sickness. Already on the night of the 14th April cholera had made its appearance; upwards of fifty men of the 51st were seized, forty-two of these were dead before morning, and Lieutenant J. W. Bateman, the only officer attacked, died on the 22nd. Cholera and dysentery continued for some weeks with the Regiment, and all ranks must have hailed with joy the receipt of orders which removed them, even temporarily, from the neighbourhood of Rangoon.

On the 4th May, 200 men of the 51st Light Infantry, under Captain W. H. H. Anderson, embarked on board the *Feroze* for Moulmein to repel the threatened attack of a Burmese force; and on the 16th Major Errington was ordered to hold 400 of his Regiment in readiness to form part of a force, with 300 of the 9th Madras Native Infantry and some details of Artillery and Sappers, to embark next morning for Bassein. The force embarked at daylight of the 17th on the *Sesostris*, *Mazuffer* and *Tenasserim*, and the little fleet was joined off the mouth of the Bassein river by the *Pluto*. On the 18th the ships arrived off the Burmese position—a well-built mud fort mounting several guns. Not a shot was fired by the enemy, who seemed taken completely by surprise at the sudden arrival of the British.

The following report from Major Errington describes the capture of Bassein:—

“On board the Hon. Company’s steam frigate *Mazuffer*,

“Sir,

“off Bassein, May 22nd, 1852.

“The operations being concluded, I have the honour now to lay before you a report of the assault and capture of the strong stockades, erected by the enemy at Bassein, by the troops under my command on the 19th inst.

" 1. The Honourable Company's steamers having anchored in succession at about half-past 4 p.m. in front of Bassein, a signal was made for the troops to land. This was effected in a very short time, and the ground occupied was an open space running along the river in front of the stockade. The work was full of armed men and several guns were in position. I formed the troops in line.

" 2. The whole force had not landed when a fire from the enemy was opened upon us. This was a signal for the troops to advance, which was done in the most gallant style. The stockade was surmounted, the chief Pagoda gained, and the enemy were driven in every direction. Considering the sharp fire that was opened upon us in gallant attack, our loss in killed and wounded was small.

" 3. Having formed the troops in the Pagoda, companies were sent out, by your orders, in different directions to disperse the enemy.

" 4. A most important duty still remained to be performed. The enemy's stronghold, a fortified position to the south of the town, was still unmolested.

" 5. A company of H.M.'s 51st, under Captain Rice, and two of the Madras Native Infantry, under Captain Borthwick, were selected to assault this position. I accompanied this detachment myself in order to be an eye-witness of what I knew would be a most dashing operation. I halted the party for a few minutes on the road as Captain Borthwick had not come up, where it was joined by a few seamen and marines under Lieutenant Rice, R.N., by a party of Madras Sappers with ladders under Lieutenant Ford, and by a sub-division of the 9th Native Infantry under Lieutenant Ansley. As it was getting late I decided upon not waiting for the remainder of the 9th.

" 6. Taking a circuitous route, we came out in rear of the stockade in an open space which afforded us a distinct view of this formidable position. I here detached Lieutenant Ansley with his party to the right, to attack in reverse the north-east side. Our further progress was impeded by water and low thick jungle, obliging us to take another direction, which brought the party out upon a brick road, leading straight up to the north-east angle of the work. Upon opening the position, and when within fifteen yards of it, a severe fire of musketry, guns and jingals was opened upon us by the enemy. I was struck in the groin which disabled me at once; Lieutenant Rice, R.N., whilst bravely leading on his men, was shot through the hand; Captain Rice, H.M.'s 51st L.I., whilst gallantly leading his company up to the assault, was shot through the lower part of the neck. His place was gallantly taken by his subaltern, Lieutenant Carter, who, followed by his men, was the first on the parapet. He was struck down by a musket ball and rolled over the exterior slope; but still insisted upon being carried into the work. Lieutenant

Ansley, of the 9th Madras Native Infantry, and Lieutenant Ford, Madras Sappers, mounted the parapet in the most gallant manner; the former received a wound through the right hand. The enemy now gave way in every direction, followed by the victorious troops under the command of Lieutenant Ford. Thus in forty minutes from the time the troops landed, the whole of the enemy's works were in your possession.

"In conclusion, I beg to bring to your notice the noble conduct of the officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers of all arms who took part in the assault; and the cheerfulness and alacrity with which every individual appeared anxious to perform his duty.

"I beg to enclose a list of the killed and wounded.

"I have the honour to be, etc.,

"A. C. ERRINGTON, Major,

"H.M.'s 51st.

"Commanding H.M.'s 51st Regiment Light Infantry

"and Troops engaged.

"To Lieutenant-General Godwin, C.B., Commanding Burma Field Force."

The casualties in the 51st Light Infantry, suffered in the attack and capture of Bassein, amounted to two rank and file killed, while wounded were four officers—Major Errington, Captains Darroch and Rice, and Lieutenant Carter—and eleven rank and file.

General Godwin's despatch on the capture of Bassein, dated Rangoon, the 24th May, is too long to quote *in extenso*, but he refers in very eulogistic terms to the conduct on this occasion of all ranks of the 51st, as may be seen from the following extracts: "...At this time Major Errington made his advance on the Pagoda and carried it in most gallant style, the 51st L.I. maintaining nobly the character they had ever commanded by their courage and distinguished conduct in the field.... The storming party under Major Errington proceeding to the left of the Burmese works. . . . came upon this Mud Fort fully garrisoned and well armed. The attack was most determined, as was the defence obstinate. . . . Major Errington, of H.M.'s 51st L.I., who commanded the detachment of troops embarked for Bassein, who principally directed this detachment and who fought this detachment, deserves the particular thanks of the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council. . . . I beg the best consideration of Government for Captain Rice and Lieutenant Carter of the 51st L.I. . . . To Captain Darroch, of the 51st L.I., and to Captain Latter, my interpreter, thanks are due for their gallantry in forcing the traverse and entering at the gate on the right of the enemy's position. . . ."

The force remained two days at Bassein arranging for the supply and defence of the garrison to be left there, consisting of two companies (160 men) of the 51st under Captains Irby and Darroch, 300 men of the Madras Native Infantry and some guns; and the flotilla weighed at daybreak on the 22nd May and reached Rangoon the following day.

A few days after the return of this party to Rangoon trouble broke out at Martaban, some 600 Burmans, under the ex-governor of Martaban, suddenly attacking the British picquets and driving them back on the camp. Reinforcements, consisting of the two companies of the 51st and some native infantry, were hurriedly embarked in boats at Moulmein and proceeded to Martaban, and the troops, assisted materially by the fire from the guns of the *Feroze*, eventually drove off the enemy, who continued, however, from time to time to threaten Martaban and annoy the garrison:

During the first fortnight in May the Talaings of Pegu rose against the Burmese and captured the town of Pegu, some 75 miles almost due north of Rangoon; but at the end of the month it was recaptured by the Burmese, and General Godwin, regarding the Talaings as allies, determined to expel the common foe. A small force was collected and left Rangoon on the 2nd June, captured Pegu without loss and then evacuated it after the fortifications had been destroyed. A hundred men of the 80th Foot were the only British troops employed on this expedition.

General Godwin was now busily engaged in concerting measures for an advance on Prome so soon as the colder weather should set in, but early in July a small naval expedition, consisting of four ships, proceeded up the Irrawaddy, reached Prome, captured fifty-six guns and returned to Rangoon, having gathered much useful information and cleared the whole delta of the Irrawaddy of the enemy.

It having been determined to occupy and hold as British territory the whole province of Pegu as far north as Prome, it was decided that the operations should commence in September, and arrangements were made to reinforce General Godwin with two additional brigades, one from Bengal and one from Madras. A large flotilla of Burmese boats was got ready to convey the troops up the Irrawaddy, and on the arrival of the reinforcements the expeditionary force was organized in two divisions as under:—

- The Bengal Division, Brig.-Gen. Sir John Cheape, K.C.B.
- 1st Brigade, under Brigadier Reignolds, *vice* Warren invalided.
- 18th Royal Irish, 40th and 67th Native Infantry.
- 2nd Brigade, under Brigadier Dickenson.
- 80th Foot, 10th Native Infantry, 4th Sikh Local Infantry.
- 3rd Brigade, under Brigadier Huish.

THE HISTORY OF THE K.O.Y.L.I.

1st Bengal Fusiliers, 37th Native Infantry, the Ludhiana Regiment.

The Madras Division, Brig.-Gen. S. W. Steel, C.B.

1st Brigade, under Brigadier W. H. Elliott, 51st.

51st Light Infantry, 9th and 35th Native Infantry.

2nd Brigade, under Brigadier McNeill.

1st Madras Fusiliers, 5th and 79th Native Infantry.

3rd Brigade,

84th Foot, 30th and 46th Native Infantry.

Captain D. G. A. Darroch, 51st, was appointed brigade major of the 2nd Madras Infantry Brigade, and Captain Manners of the 1st brigade.

All arrangements for the advance being satisfactorily completed, General Godwin embarked at Rangoon on the 27th September with the following troops, *viz.*, one company of Madras Artillery, the 18th and 80th Foot, the 35th Madras Native Infantry and 119 Sappers¹; the flotilla arrived off Prome on the 9th October, the troops were landed the same afternoon, and captured the town with trifling loss. More troops having now arrived at Prome, General Godwin proceeded to and effected the capture of Pegu, but he left only a very small force there in garrison, and the Burmese at once invested the place, so that later it became necessary to send a large body of troops to relieve it and drive away the enemy.

It was not until the end of October and beginning of November that the 51st began to move from Rangoon, when the Regiment embarked on the *Nemesis* and *Pluto*. Major Errington was ordered to stop at Henzadah on the passage up, to leave there one company of the 51st and two companies of Madras Infantry, and to see that the place was put in a proper state of defence; it had already been attacked by the Burmese on the 30th October and a force of Burmese was known to be hovering about the neighbourhood. Captain Singleton's company of the 51st was selected to remain in garrison at Henzadah. The rest of the Regiment went on to Prome and here the men suffered much from cholera and dysentery, while about the end of the month Major Errington fell ill and was obliged to hand over command to Captain Anderson.

(On the 12th November news reached the headquarters of the Burma Field Force in Prome of the death of the Duke of Wellington, under whose command the 51st had seen so much and so distinguished service.)

For some little time there had been indications that the Burmese contemplated an attack upon Prome, where Sir John Cheape

¹ It will be noticed that the divisional and brigade organization was thus early broken up.

commanded a garrison of some not inconsiderable strength. About midnight on the 8th December heavy firing suddenly broke out, the enemy was found to be advancing and at once our picquets were reinforced and every assailable point occupied. "A detachment of the 35th Madras Native Infantry held Narweing on the west of the town, supported by connecting picquets of H.M.'s 18th and 51st, thus communicating with the town; the headquarters of the 35th supported the main body of the 51st on the left; the Madras Sappers, with double picquets, supported the 40th Bengal Native Infantry and 18th Royal Irish on the heights on our extreme left. The guns, with portions of the 18th and 80th, held the central position. The enemy made repeated assaults; charge after charge—accompanied with wild yells and cries—was attempted, but the steady fire from the heights and from our left drove them back again and again. A few of them reached a sand on the river's bank, where some of the friendly inhabitants of the town had built their miserable huts; here they wounded a few poor men and women, but a demonstration from our right caused these remorseless warriors to make a speedy retreat, and the Irregular Horse held that point in check for the remainder of the night. They prolonged their fruitless attacks till dawn of day; but the safety of our troops was complete as the enemy invariably fired too high. Their file-firing on H.M.'s 51st was remarked as admirable, as far as regularity and being well kept up were concerned, but then it had the above-mentioned defect."¹ The enemy finally drew off at daylight on the 9th and fell back upon Enthay-Myo.

In consequence of the large amount of sickness prevailing among the troops at Prome the 51st Light Infantry was, early in January, 1853, moved down the river to Shwe-dong, where at first the health of the men made some improvement, but when in May the rainy season commenced, sickness again broke out among such of the Regiment as remained there and many deaths occurred.

On the 23rd January General Godwin and Staff proceeded to Meaday in the *Nerbudda*, while a column of some 800 or 900 men under Sir John Cheape marched thither by land. With this column were three companies of the 51st under Captain Marston. Here was found a very elaborate and newly-constructed stockade, and in this position was left a garrison of 500 men, including 200 of the 51st, with four guns. The remainder of the column left Meaday again on the 30th January, reaching Prome on the 3rd February.

On the 18th February Brigadier-General Sir John Cheape left Prome to proceed against a robber-chieftain named Nya Myat Toon,

¹ Laurie's "*Pegu*," pp. 150, 151.

who had already had some success against a small British column operating in the vicinity of Donnabew. A composite force was made up by selection from amongst the healthiest men of the Prome garrison, and it contained 200 men of the 18th, 200 of the 51st under Captain Irby¹, a company of the 67th Bengal Infantry, 200 of the 4th Sikhs, seventy Sappers, and two guns. Sir John landed his men at Henzadah on the Irrawaddy—some 35 miles to the north of Donnabew, and where a large number of native carts for transport purposes was easily procurable.

The following account of the main incidents of the expedition was contributed by Corporal James Smith, of the 51st, to one of the Calcutta newspapers, and gives an excellent description of all that occurred: "We made Henzadah," he wrote, "on the evening of the 21st and were formed into two wings. The right wing was composed of H.M.'s 18th and 4th Sikhs under Major Wigston of the former corps; the left of H.M.'s 51st and Rifle Company 67th Bengal Native Infantry under Captain Irby of the 51st. The artillery and sappers were under distinct commands. We marched on the evening of the 22nd, right wing leading; afterwards each wing took the lead alternately.

"We crossed a large creek at Mannoo without accident over a bridge of boats, and bivouacked in a couple of Poonghie houses for the remainder of that night and all the following day, having lost the commissariat department, while the men had only a day's provisions in their haversacks. I shall pass over the remainder of our toils up to the 27th, on which morning we were first apprised of the presence of the enemy, for under a thick fog we were fired at from the opposite bank of a creek near where we were bivouacked. Two men of No. 10 Company, Privates Patrick McDonald and John Dempsey, were wounded and subsequently died. That Company crossed the creek and scoured the surrounding jungle for two miles, but not an individual was to be seen. We retired without having fired a shot. Want of provisions now rendered it necessary to return to camp; accordingly we started, fasting and thirsty, without even having a glass of grog. In this predicament we marched about 19 miles under a scorching sun and reached the shipping at a place called Raline, halfway between Donnabew and Henzadah. We steamed from the latter place to Donnabew, Lieutenant Pilmer proceeding for more troops and a supply of boots and tobacco. We now expected a rest, but were supplied with spades, billhooks, etc., and, thus armed, we performed five or six days' hard labour, clearing

¹ With Captain Irby were the following officers of the 51st Light Infantry: Captain Singleton, Lieutenants Pilmer, Sheaf, Dickson, Baillie, Trafford, Ensign Acton, and Lieutenant Taylor, 9th Native Infantry, attached.

every jungle, cutting roads to the shipping and building a sort of barrack room outside a pagoda compound which we fortified. So between pulling down buildings, raising others, and performing other work, we ate no idle bread. At length we were again ready to start and supplied with seven days' provisions. Here also we received a considerable reinforcement of H.M.'s 80th¹—part recruits and part old soldiers—who joined the right wing of the force. Two companies of Bengal Native Infantry, under Lieut.-Colonel Sturt, also joined the left wing, that officer assuming command. I have omitted to mention that at Henzadah we were joined by No. 5 Company under Captain Singleton.

"We marched at 9 a.m. on the 1st March and reached a place called Ankyar. Here we had a large creek to cross, on this side of which we found three of the Burmese breastworks evacuated. About two miles inland from Donnabew we were warmly engaged with the enemy's picquets. At dark they opened a heavy fire upon us; but under cover of the night we shifted our position about a quarter of a mile to our left, and so caused them uselessly to expend a great quantity of ammunition. Before removing, however, we had a couple of slight accidents—a horse wounded, and a man of the 80th and another of the 18th slightly grazed.

"In the morning the 51st and 67th Native Infantry crossed the creek and were soon hotly engaged with the enemy. We drove them out of their position behind twelve breastworks erected along the bank of the river. The Bengal riflemen acted bravely and would not suffer us to go out in the overpowering heat; but volunteered to cover the front themselves whenever the enemy was disposed to fight, allowing us to take cover under the shade of trees and bushes. The whole day was occupied in transporting our baggage across the creek.

"On the morning of the 9th our little army started as soon as the fog had cleared off, and continued its march exposed to the burning sun, and even in danger of losing its baggage, for whenever we happened to be in the centre of a large plot of elephant grass the enemy set it on fire all around us. In defiance, however, of all opposition in skirmishes and at the breastworks erected along the route, we got safely to a large creek on the banks of which was once a considerable town, called Kyanthenow. Here the General decided to occupy both banks to prevent the annoyance we experienced at the last creek. Accordingly two companies of the 18th and the rifle company of the 67th, under Captain Irby of the 51st, crossed the creek and found the enemy napping on a large open plain. A hot skirmish ensued and lasted for a considerable time, the enemy

¹ *Ensign Garnet Wolseley, afterwards Viscount Wolseley, came up with these.*

behaving admirably under Shamboo, one of their most distinguished chiefs. They contested every inch of ground and when the 'Retire' sounded, which our men very reluctantly obeyed, the enemy cheered most vociferously. At this time No. 9 Company, commanded by Lieutenant Dickson, and eleven men of No. 5 Company, 51st, having just crossed the river, the 18th and Rifles were again sent out and extended along the bank to attack the enemy in front while a large plot of elephant grass on the right concealed us. Under the command of Captains Irby and Singleton, the men noiselessly made their way through the grass, surprised the enemy's flanks, and soon dispatched 'General' Shamboo and about a dozen of his men. Shamboo was shot through the heart by Captain Seymour, R.N. His followers then dispersed. The remainder of the 51st then crossed the river; and although we had fasted all day and were wearied with our work, we were forced to entrench ourselves during the night.

"Our work being completed we got a pint of tea per man and some biscuit, the first and last food eaten that day. Next day was occupied in getting our baggage across the creek, and on the next, the 11th, we moved forward, No. 10 Company, 51st, and the Rifle Company of the 67th, forming the advanced guard. We travelled 13 hours and only made $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles, the advanced guard being engaged all day in attacking breastworks. The enemy was driven out of eighteen of their defences at the point of the bayonet. The whole road was blocked up by large trees being felled across it, so that we were forced to cut through every inch we travelled. The rear guard was attacked and lost eleven men. An officer of the Rifles was also severely wounded¹ and four of his men killed. When the enemy discovered our determination to go ahead, they set fire to the jungle round about us, which we were compelled to extinguish for the protection of our magazines. Unfortunately, after having made $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles we got on the way back, during which we received no opposition, the enemy thinking they had completely escaped us. We marched until dark when we were compelled to pitch our camp in a close jungle. It being too late to light fires, we could not prepare food to appease the hunger we had endured all day. In the morning, however, we began to cook our tea, but as the water was nearly boiling the dressing bugle sounded and we were given to understand that we should not have time to prepare our food. The boilers were therefore emptied and everything packed up for the road. A dense fog coming on delayed our march till nearly 10 o'clock, when we retraced our steps to the encampment we left the previous evening. We found it had been set on fire by the enemy after we had left it.

¹ *Lieutenant Clarke, 67th Bengal Native Infantry.*

"Our provisions being nearly exhausted, a company from each of the regiments crossed the river this night, and proceeded to the shipping at Donnabew to obtain fifteen days' provisions for the force, the headquarters of which were to remain by the river side until our return. No. 10 Company 51st Regiment, forming the escort to the shipping, reached Donnabew about 2 p.m. on the 14th. The men had neither eaten nor drank since their breakfast on the 13th, except one glass of arrack, but at Donnabew dinner and grog were ready for us the moment we arrived, and the provisions landed upon the bank. On the morning of the 15th we again started for headquarters, which we reached on the evening of the 16th, and to our dismay found that cholera had broken out and made its terrible havoc amongst our little force. The 67th N.I. buried twenty-six men, the Sikhs thirty-one, the 18th Royal Irish three colour-sergeants and ten privates, the 80th about the same number. In comparison the 51st was lucky throughout, it only buried one man. The disease followed us through the remainder of our work, but the 51st had only a few cases. The draft of the 80th, recently arrived from England, lost many men.

"On the evening of the 17th March the right wing marched and drove the enemy out of a considerable breastwork after some severe fighting, four men of the 18th and several Sepoys being wounded. On the following morning the left wing moved off, the 51st being formed into three companies, No. 10 having been broken up in consequence of its commander, Lieutenant Sheafe, remaining sick on board ship.¹ About 4 o'clock we suddenly came upon one of his " (the enemy's) "strongholds. Although within 200 yards of it we could not see it, and one of the companies received a terrible fire. Attacked in front and flank from the advanced to the rear guard, we were ordered to lie down. The rocket brigade was then brought up, but the enemy only cheered, mocked, and laughed loudly. The 51st then begged permission to storm the place, Captain Singleton led the advance. By this time Lieutenant Boileau, of the 67th, was killed, and several Sepoys were killed and wounded. The 51st had also one man wounded, and another, Private John Christopher, narrowly escaped a ball which carried away his breastplate, completely stripped him of his belts and knocked him down. The guns were then tried, at which the enemy cheered and laughed. At length the long-wished-for order was given to charge, and our lads dashed into the entrenchment with great gallantry, charging the enemy for half a mile. Their bravery called forth the well-merited

¹ Presumably left at Donnabew, a convoy of sick and wounded going in on the 12th with the party above mentioned; other sick had remained at Kyan-thenow where Lieut. Dickson, 51st, was commanding.

approbation of the General and all the officers of the force, who universally admired their coolness and strict compliance with orders under a galling fire. We never expended a round of ammunition until we were ordered to charge.

"I forgot to mention that the ground going up to the last stockade was all blockaded, not an inch of clear ground, holes here and there concealed from our view and full of spikes, as also was the top of the fortification.

"In the evening we marched about two miles further, and encamped on the banks of another creek. On the following day (19th) we marched along the banks of the creek, keeping the water on our right, but as usual had to cut our way. The order of march was as follows :—H.M.'s 80th formed the advanced guard, the Sikhs and 18th next, artillery and rocket brigade next in succession, and followed by the 67th and two companies of the 51st; No. 8 Company of the 51st formed the rear-guard to the baggage. After the advanced guard had proceeded two miles, a heavy fire smote them as suddenly as on the previous evening. The 80th, being principally recruits, soon took to cover, and two of their officers were wounded¹ in attempting to lead on the men. The Sikhs also lay down, seeing their major and adjutant (who lost an arm) wounded. Fury, the European Sergeant-Major of the Sikhs, was killed in endeavouring to lead them on or pull them out of the road. He behaved like a hero. . . . Next, the 18th Royal Irish made a trial, when thirty-four of their number fell at one sweep; of these eleven were killed on the spot.

"This shock paralyzed them; they got under cover, the enemy cheering vociferously, and keeping up a tremendous fire. Lieutenant Cockburn fell mortally wounded in attempting to lead them on; Major Wigston was also severely wounded; Lieutenant Pilmer, of the 51st, twice endeavoured to lead a charge, as also did Lieutenant McGraith, Madras Artillery, who was wounded in the second attempt. The Burmese were getting the upper hand, and a consultation was held about spiking the guns and retreating, when the General's aide-de-camp suggested giving the 51st a trial. The suggestion being complied with Nos. 9 and 5 Companies were with great difficulty brought from the rear through the numerous obstacles on the road to the front. No. 9 was in front with Lieutenant Taylor (attached) at the head of the Company. When he arrived he asked the question, 'Am I to go on?' The answer being 'Yes,' the whole of the men, not forgetting the White House Stockade, with one voice repeated 'Yes!' Lieutenant Taylor then waved his hand and shouted, '51st, follow me!' when the men dashed into the enemy's entrenchments, and, as the General remarked, 'drove the Burmese

¹ One of these was *Ensign Wolseley*.

out of their stronghold with that spirit which becomes a brave and well-disciplined body of men, and this under the most galling fire he had ever seen.' Poor Lieutenant Taylor was killed after he had advanced a few paces, Colour-Sergeant Donoughoe at the same moment fell mortally wounded, and was buried at 7 o'clock the next morning. Hull also fell mortally wounded, Higginbottom dangerously, Corporal McHugh and George Mayor were wounded in the shoulders, and others, making in all fourteen. We captured a great portion of the enemy's implements of war as well as the two large field pieces they had formerly captured."

Corporal Smith's story may in some particulars be supplemented ; it may, for instance, be mentioned that, before attacking, the 51st dragged up a 24-pounder howitzer which opened fire at 25 yards' range but failed to diminish the fire of the enemy on the path leading to the breastwork. Major Reid, of the Bengal Artillery, who commanded the gun in this exposed position was immediately wounded, after which Lieutenant Ashe kept up its fire in the most spirited manner. Irritated by the failure of the right wing and stimulated by the unconquerable resolution of Captain Irby to carry the stockade, Sir John Cheape ordered Bugler Thomas Fitzpatrick, of the 51st, to sound the light infantry call. In obedience to this summons, No. 9 Company, commanded by Lieutenant Taylor, was the first to arrive, followed by No. 5 under Captain Singleton. They made the assault on the position in the manner already described. Lieutenant Trevor, of the Engineers, and Privates Livingstone and Preston are said to have been the first men into the work, each of the two last-named shooting down an enemy who opposed their entrance. The lead had devolved upon them and Sergeant Thomas of the 51st, as Lieutenant Taylor, Ensign Wolseley, 80th, and Colour-Sergeant Donoughoe had fallen in the advance. In the first rush Livingstone and Fitzpatrick arrived at the stockade so nearly at the same time, that one of the enemy aiming at Livingstone as he entered, had his musket knocked aside by Fitzpatrick, who, wounding him with his sword, then mounted the stockade. The same man immediately attempted to fire at Fitzpatrick, but was killed by Livingstone in the attempt. In an instant more the stockade was entered, on gaining which Fitzpatrick discovered a Burman fastened to one of the guns previously captured ; this man he slew at the moment Sergeant Thomas and Privates Preston and Livingstone stood by his side.

On the same evening the force marched to Kyanthenow, and on the 24th the troops arrived at Donnabew, where a detachment was left, the remainder embarking and returning to Prome.

In Sir John Cheape's despatch of the 25th March, 1853, he brought to notice the services of Captain A. H. Irby, 51st, and of Lieutenant

R. Pilmer of the same regiment, Brigade Quartermaster, 1st Madras Brigade, "who, by permission, accompanied this expedition. He has rendered the most essential service to the force in carrying orders and in seeing them executed in many cases of emergency, and has undergone much fatigue and shown much zeal for the Service. He is a most able Staff Officer, and I would recommend him strongly to the Major-General's notice."

In Sir John's return of killed and wounded from 27th February to 19th March, 1853, he shows that the losses in the 51st Light Infantry were, killed, one officer, Lieutenant Taylor, 9th Madras Native Infantry, attached, and one sergeant, and wounded fifteen rank and file.

The casualties from cholera in this small force amounted to one hundred.

The 51st Light Infantry shortly after arrival at Prome, was removed to Shwe-Dong, but this station proving unhealthy, it was ordered in September up the river to Thayetmyo, Meaday and Henzadah; and though the war was officially over in June of this year, many months elapsed before the country really began to quiet down.

By the 12th December the Regiment was assembled at Rangoon in readiness for return to Madras, and on the 12th February, 1854, the right wing embarked in the *Earl of Hardwick*, reached Madras on the 27th, and proceeded by march route to Poonamallee. The left wing left Rangoon some little time later in the *Lord George Bentinck* and arrived at Madras on the 19th March.

The following orders were published about this time:

"Most humbly submitted to your Majesty by your Majesty's most devoted Subject and Servant.

Hardinge.

"That the 18th, 51st and 80th Regiments may be permitted to bear the word "Pegu" on the Regimental Colour and Appointments in commemoration of the services rendered by these Corps during the recent war with Burma which has terminated in the annexation of the Province of Pegu to your Majesty's Eastern dominions.

Approved,

VICTORIA R.

"Horse Guards, 20th September, 1853.

"Notified on 11th October, 1853, to General Sir William Gomm, Commander-in-Chief in India.

"The Colonels of the 18th, 51st and 80th Regiments.

"Inspectors of Regimental Colours and War Office."

Then the following order was published just before the 51st left Burma:

"Rangoon, 28th December, 1853.

"Brigadier Elliott has much pleasure in publishing the following extract from General Orders by Brigadier-General Sir John Cheape, commanding the division, who begs to record the great satisfaction with which he has viewed the excellent conduct of the Regiment since it has been under his command.

"The discipline, good order and soldierly qualities of the men cannot be exceeded, and the Brigadier-General has observed that they have been equally ready in forming posts and defending them, in taking up quarters and accommodating themselves to the circumstances of the country; or in acting against the enemy, whenever called upon or opportunity offered.

"The annals of the Regiment may tell of fields of great note, but none in which the sterling worth of the Regiment has been more fully tried and shown than in the service in Burma. On many occasions the greatest gallantry has been displayed, and in particular, by a detachment of this Regiment under the command of Captain Irby in storming the enemy's positions in almost the last action fought in the war.

"The Brigadier-General thanks the Regiment most cordially for its good conduct, and his especial thanks are due to the commanding officer, Captain Anderson, for the good discipline and efficient state of the Regiment, which is so highly creditable to him. He begs to offer to Captain Anderson, the officers, and men, his best wishes and assurance of the warm interest he will ever entertain for their happiness, welfare and prosperity."

The 51st Light Infantry was now placed under orders to return to England, volunteering for corps remaining in India was opened, and 119 men transferred to other regiments.

On the 14th April, 1854, headquarters and three companies embarked at Madras under command of Colonel W. H. Elliott, landed at Gravesend on the 2nd August and proceeded to Chatham; the remainder of the Regiment, with the exception of part of No. 6 Company and the invalids, travelled separately, landed on the same day at Gravesend and joined headquarters, the command now devolving upon Bt. Lieutenant-Colonel A. C. Errington *vice* Colonel Elliott, who went on leave and did not rejoin the Regiment.

1854-1878

XVIII

THE 51st Light Infantry did not remain more than a very few days at Chatham, being moved in the middle of August, 1854, to Manchester, where recruiting proceeded very briskly, every effort being made to fill up the gaps made in the ranks of the Regiment during the war in which it had so lately taken part, by sickness in India, and by volunteering prior to its departure from that country. The Regiment had also come home to find the country involved in a war of great magnitude, one which had denuded the United Kingdom of troops, and which made it necessary for such corps as remained at home to be ready in all respects should reinforcements be needed for the forces already in the field.

In January, 1855, a monument of Carrara marble was placed in York Cathedral by the 51st Light Infantry to the memory of those of their comrades who had died during the war in Burma. The memorial took the form of an officer in an attitude of mourning resting his sword upon a tomb, bearing the inscription:—"In Memory of the Brave, in Hope of the Resurrection of the Just." In the background is a broken column entwined with evergreens, an Indian Pagoda and palmtrees, while underneath are the words: "This Monument is erected by the surviving officers of the 51st, or King's Own Light Infantry (the Second Regiment of the Riding of Yorkshire), to the Memory of Major W. H. Hare, Captains E. L. Wolley and W. Blundell, Lieutenants J. W. Bateman and R. Pilmer, Ensigns A. N. Armstrong and J. Clarke, and 303 non-commissioned officers and private soldiers who fell at Burma in and during the war of 1852-3."

On a scroll below are recorded the names of all these non-commissioned officers and men. In 1900 this monument was moved to the West Transept where the old Colours now hang, and the names were cut afresh on the marble sides of the monument.

On the 13th February, Colonel Elliott retired upon half pay and Brevet Lieut.-Colonel Errington succeeded to the command of the Regiment by purchase.

On the 4th June the medals for the Burma campaign were issued to the Regiment, and on the 6th of the same month new Colours were presented in the Regent Road Barracks, in the presence of Lieut.-General Sir Harry Smith, Bt., of Aliwal, commanding the

Northern and Midland District, and General Sir Thomas Willshire, K.C.B., who was then Colonel of the 51st, having been appointed on the 26th June, 1849, in succession to Lieut.-General Sir Benjamin D'Urban, who died in May of that year.

The prayers of consecration having been read by the Rev. Mr. Nicholson, chaplain to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the new Colours were handed to Lieutenant Reed and Ensign Burnaby by Lady Willshire, who said :

“ Officers and soldiers of the 51st King's Own Light Infantry.

“ As the wife of an old soldier, I feel proud and grateful for the distinction you have this day conferred upon me by requesting that I should present its Colours to this gallant Regiment, of which my husband has the honour to be the Colonel. May these bright banners, like those venerable ensigns they are destined to replace, ever be found foremost in the path which leads the British soldier on to glory and to victory, and in addition to the many records of your triumphs and successes which those ensigns display, may you before long, if called to join those of your comrades now fighting in the Crimea, there be enabled to reap fresh laurels in addition to those which the 51st acquired at Minden, at many battles in the Peninsula, on the Pyrenees and at Waterloo. Gentlemen, I present to you these Colours, may God's blessing go with them and protect them ! And rest assured that, wherever they are carried, your Colonel's and my prayers and best wishes will ever attend you, 51st Light Infantry.”

On behalf of the Regiment, Colonel Errington thanked Lady Willshire for the honour she had conferred upon all ranks ; and the men were then briefly addressed by General Sir Thomas Willshire, who expressed his gratification at making acquaintance with them on that occasion, and his confidence that they would ever maintain the present high and well-earned reputation of the Regiment.

The old Colours, which had been carried through the campaign in Burma, were sent to York and deposited in the Minster.

Towards the end of June, the 51st Light Infantry, now 1300 all ranks, was placed under orders for Malta, embarking 800 strong and leaving behind a depot of 500 men under Captain Irby, who, on the 3rd July, in the name of the Regiment, presented to the city of York a Burmese Bell, which had been captured in Rangoon and was brought home by the 51st in 1854. The Bell weighs 6 cwt., is 2 feet in height, 1 foot 9 inches broad at the mouth, and is 2½ inches thick. It is covered with inscriptions in Burmese characters, said to be quotations from the writings of Buddha ; it is suspended by a chain of large links, both bell and chain being of silver. The Bell is hung

on the wall of the Guildhall and beneath is a tablet bearing the following words :—

The Bell suspended above this Tablet
was captured from the Great Pagoda of Rangoon
at the storming of that City by Her Majesty's Forces
on the 14th of April, 1852.

It was presented to the City of York
by the Officers, Non-commissioned Officers and Soldiers
of the 51st Light Infantry or Yorkshire West Riding Regiment,
and was placed in this ancient Hall as a trophy
of the distinguished services of that gallant Regiment
on that and other occasions during the Burmese War.

George Wilson, Esquire, Lord Mayor.

July, 1855.

The 51st sailed from Liverpool for Malta in two divisions in the steamers *Andes* and *Emu*, and reached its destination on the 25th June, and at once engaged in very careful rifle practice with the Minie rifle with which it had been entirely re-armed since its return from the East. On the 5th November, the Regiment was inspected on the Floriana parade by Major-General Sir John Pennefather, who had commanded the 2nd Division at the battle of Inkerman, and in July of this year had been invalided from the Crimea. At the conclusion of his inspection Sir John reported that " he had experienced great pleasure in witnessing the fine appearance and high state of discipline of the Regiment ; that all the manœuvres were admirably executed, and gave him strong assurance of what great value and importance such a regiment would now be in the field ; that he should be proud to lead such, but that might not be his good fortune ; however, any commander would be proud and pleased to have such a regiment under him, and he hoped the corps would ere long have an opportunity of distinguishing itself."

The fortress of Sebastopol fell in September, and though hostilities did not at once cease, it was very evident that no more troops would be required in the theatre of war, and on the 29th May, 1856, the 51st Light Infantry embarked at Malta in the *Etna* and *Sir Robert Sale* for Portsmouth. Arrived here, orders were received for the Regiment to proceed to Ireland, and it consequently journeyed on at once to Cork, where disembarkation took place on the 21st June. From Cork the 51st proceeded by march to Buttevant, one company, that under Captain Young, being detached to Mallow.

A serious mutiny breaking out at this time in the Tipperary Militia, then quartered at Nenagh, the 51st was ordered thither by way of Templemore to keep the peace ; and after spending some few days

at Nenagh, the Regiment was sent to Dublin where it arrived on the 22nd July, and occupied quarters in Linen Hall and Beggars Bush Barracks. The stay in Dublin was a very brief one, for on the 17th August the Regiment marched to the Curragh, and, a month later, the four depot companies having been separated from the service companies, they proceeded to Pembroke Dock.

The headquarter companies passed the winter at the Curragh, and then in the latter part of March, 1857, orders were received for them to be held in readiness to proceed to Belfast and other stations in the north of Ireland to assist the Civil Power in preserving peace during the elections. The services of the Regiment do not appear, however, to have been especially needed, and at the end of April it returned to the Curragh for the drill season, proceeding thence to Dublin in the first week in August, and there occupying quarters in the Palatine Square and Linen Hall Barracks.

Every ship that reached England during the latter half of the year, 1857, brought increasingly serious news of the progress of the mutiny of the Bengal Army which had broken out in India; and in spite of the fact that the 51st Light Infantry had been so very short a time at home, the Regiment asked to be permitted to volunteer for service in India, and on the 9th October it proceeded to Cork and embarked in the steamer *Calcutta* for Bombay. The *Calcutta* arrived in harbour on the 29th December, 1857, and on the first day of the New Year the 51st disembarked and occupied the Town Barracks.

Changes of station very shortly occurred; the headquarters wing moved to Colaba, while detachments under Captains Mitford and Agg and Lieutenant Burnaby were furnished to Surat, Tannah, and Matharan. Within a very few days these were all called in, and on the 3rd and 10th February, the Regiment was put on board the H.E.I. Company's steamers *Assaye* and *Punjaub*, and proceeded to Kurrachee, which was reached on the 8th and 15th of the same month. Leaving here again on the 1st November, 1858, in the steamers *Havelock* and *Sir Henry Lawrence*, the 51st was conveyed up the Indus to Multan, whence it proceeded by bullock train in small parties to Lahore, occupying cantonments at Mian Mir, where the rest of the year was spent.

On the 6th January, 1859, the left wing proceeded to Amritsar and remained in that station until November, 1860, when it rejoined headquarters at Mian Mir.

The hot weather of 1861 was to prove a very unhealthy season for the 51st Light Infantry. On the 6th August, cholera broke out in the cantonments of Mian Mir, first showing itself in the Artillery Lines where No. 1 company was detached. On the 9th the disease

reached the European Infantry Lines through which it ran with terrible rapidity and fatal results. In nine days the 51st Light Infantry lost twenty-nine men, and on the 16th August it was considered advisable to move the Regiment out into cholera camps. Consequently Nos. 1, 9 and 10 companies moved to Chubil, one march out of Mian Mir on the Amritsar road, under command of Captain Reed, and were joined at Chubil on the 17th by Nos. 2 and 5 companies under Captain Farrington. On the following day these five companies left Chubil and marched to Gharenda, which was reached on the 21st; unable to shake off the cholera, Captain Reed led his men back to Chubil, where they arrived on the 23rd, being there joined by the Band and Buglers. This camp was occupied thus until the 9th September, by which date fifty-three men had died of cholera.

The two companies, Nos. 4 and 8, stationed in the Fort at Lahore, were free from cholera until the 20th August; on the 25th, No. 8, under Lieutenant Walker, moved into camp at the Eedghur, midway between Lahore and Mian Mir, and on the 30th, No. 8 joined a detachment under Captain Hughes, composed of Nos. 3 and 6 companies at Umar-Sidhu, five miles on the Ferozepore side of Mian Mir. On the 9th September, Nos. 2, 5 and 9 companies marched to this place from Chubil under Captain Reed, No. 10 coming in next day. The whole Regiment was now encamped at Umar-Sidhu with the exception of No. 4 company which still remained at Fort Lahore, under Captain Brigstocke, and No. 7 under Lieutenant Tompson which had stayed at Mian Mir with all the details.

For seven weeks cholera raged in the Regiment, suddenly disappearing on the 23rd September, 1861, on which date the last death took place. On the 6th August, the strength of the 51st Light Infantry was 999 of all ranks; there were 477 cases of cholera, and of these twenty-one died at Gharenda, fifty-three at Chubil and eight at Umar-Sidhu; while the total number of deaths in the Regiment, from the 6th August to the 23rd September, was 256 men, sixteen women and sixteen children—in all 288.

Three officers were also attacked—Lieut.-Colonel Irby, Captain Brigstocke and Lieutenant Robertson; the two latter happily recovered, the first-named died on the 23rd August. He was attacked in the morning and died in the evening of the same day, deeply regretted by all ranks of the Regiment. He had never spared himself, visiting the cholera patients constantly, and doing all that was possible to cheer and comfort them.

When the cholera had disappeared steps were taken by the 51st and 94th Regiments, which had suffered together, to raise a monument to the memory of those comrades who had died. The 94th

Regiment at that time possessed no territorial connection, so it was agreed that the sums contributed from the two corps should be expended in the erection of a memorial in York Minster. A sum of £400—*viz.* £230 from the 51st Light Infantry and £170 from the 94th Regiment—was contributed by all ranks, and it was decided to erect a memorial window or windows, and stained glass was put up in a series of four windows on the west side of the cathedral, each light being 4 feet in width and 17½ feet high. They represent incidents from the lives of Joshua, Gideon, Caleb and David, and a brass plate at the foot of the windows records the numbers who died in each regiment.

On the 28th November, the Regiment marched from Mian Mir to Rawal Pindi, and on arrival here, under Major Dickson, on the 20th December, orders were received from the Commander-in-Chief in India directing Colonel Bright, 1st Battalion 19th Regiment, to assume temporary command. This appointment resulted from an order of the Indian Government under which the second lieutenant-colonels of regiments were to be absorbed and employed wherever their services might be required before any further promotions took place; and such an opportunity occurred in the 51st by reason of the death of Lieut.-Colonel Irby and of the employment at that time on the staff of Lieut.-Colonel Errington.

On the 3rd March, 1862, Nos. 1 and 2 companies, under Captain Hughes and Lieutenant Burnaby, left headquarters and proceeded to Dera Ismail Khan, remaining there until they again joined headquarters on the 5th February, 1863.

In the year 1863, several further moves took place; on the 15th April, Nos. 2, 6, 7 and 8 companies proceeded under command of Captain Ware to Campbellpore, remaining there throughout the hot weather. On the 9th May, a working party of one hundred men under Captain Hughes was sent into the Murree Hills for work on the Murree-Abbottabad road. This was an experiment and proved highly successful, the men doing good and useful work, and keeping fit and well. The party remained in the hills until October, when it rejoined headquarters at Rawal Pindi.

Since the year 1824, a colony of Hindustani fanatics had been established on the Yusafzai border; their numbers had gradually increased, and they had been further added to at the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny of 1857, when the 55th Native Infantry, then stationed at Hoti-Mardan on the fringe of the Yusafzai country, mutinied, and, unable to join the other mutineers down country, fled across our border and joined a settlement of the Hindustanis. For years these fanatics gave us trouble; expeditions of a minor kind were sent against them in 1853, 1857 and 1858, and in 1861 they came down

from their fastness at Malka on the northern slopes of the Mahaban Mountain and committed many outrages within our border, being afforded free passage to and fro by certain of the frontier tribes. In the spring of 1863 matters came to a head, and later in the year the Indian Government decided to have recourse to military operations for the purpose of effectually crushing this horde of fanatics, and of punishing the tribes who had given them passage and asylum.

The operations that ensued, and which were known as the Ambela Expedition, were conducted at the outset by Brigadier-General Sir Neville Chamberlain, commanding the Punjab Irregular Force, and which were finally brought to a close, on Chamberlain being wounded, by Major-General Garvock, entailed some of the hardest fighting that had up to then been experienced on the frontier; a very large force, both of British and Indian troops, was employed, and the casualties were heavy, amounting to 238 killed and 670 wounded, while the estimated total loss of the enemy was 3000. In these operations the 51st Light Infantry was not actively employed, but it being necessary to detail a force to hold the line of the Indus, Hazara and Yusafzai, the headquarters of the Regiment, 350 rifles, under Colonel Bright, moved on the 9th October with three guns and 250 Native Infantry to Derband, and there remained watching the local tribesmen. The left wing had left Campbellpore early in October for Nowshera, which was reached on the 11th, receiving orders next day to march into Yusafzai. Nos. 6, 7, 8 and 9 companies accordingly left Nowshera on the 17th October, under Major Agg, and formed a reserve during the operations.

Captain McQueen, with No. 2 company, remained in the Fort at Attock.

On the 21st and 26th December, the left wing and headquarters marched from Nawakilla and Derband respectively for Nowshera, arriving on the 23rd of that month and 3rd January, 1864, orders having been received that this was to be the new station of the Regiment.

On the 5th January, 1864, under instructions from the Horse Guards, Colonel Bright handed over the command of the 51st Light Infantry to Major W. Agg, who in March was promoted Lieut.-Colonel, Colonel Bright returning to duty with the 19th Foot.

Nowshera is notoriously one of the hottest stations in India, and during the ten months that the Regiment remained there in garrison it suffered much from fever, so that it must have been with relief that on the 20th October it marched for Peshawar, there taking the place of the 71st Foot and occupying the Right European Infantry

NOTE—On 1st June, 1862, Major-General Sir W. H. Elliott, K.C.B., K.H., became Colonel of the 51st, vice General Sir T. Willshire, deceased.

Barracks. Just a year was passed at Peshawar and, on the 31st October, 1865, having been relieved by the 42nd Highlanders, the 51st Light Infantry marched under Lieut.-Colonel Agg for Jullundur which was reached on the 9th December. Letter E¹ company under Captain Walker, with Ensign Wynne, was detached to Fort Kangra, while F company under command of Lieutenant Stratford proceeded to the fort at Phillour. At Jullundur the Regiment occupied the old thatched barracks and enjoyed excellent health while quartered in this station.

On the 3rd July, 1866, the welcome news was received at headquarters that the 51st Light Infantry was to proceed to England during the next trooping season; the Regiment was accordingly opened for volunteering and sent sixty-two men to the 38th Foot and 128 to the 3rd Battalion Rifle Brigade.

In the beginning of November the companies on detachment at Fort Kangra and Phillour were relieved and rejoined headquarters, and on the 15th, the Regiment marched from Jullundur, speeded on its way by the following valedictory brigade order:—

“Colonel Bishop, in regretting the departure of the 51st Regiment from Jullundur, cannot allow this distinguished Regiment to leave without expressing to Lieut.-Colonel Agg and the officers his satisfaction at the high state of discipline of the Regiment, and the exemplary manner in which they have conducted themselves during the period they have been at this station.”

Mian Mir was reached on the 22nd November, and on the night of the 24th, A, B, C, D, E, F and G companies proceeded by rail thence to Multan, and there embarked on board the river steamer *Sir Charles Wood* and flats for Kotree and Kurrachee, while H, I and K companies followed two days later under Major Acton in the steamer *Para*. During the voyage down the Indus the *Sir Charles Wood*, carrying headquarters, accidentally stove a large hole in her bottom, through which the water poured so rapidly that the engine-room fires were extinguished, and had it not been for the untiring labour of the troops at the pumps, she must have sunk. The hole was, however, eventually plated over and after several delays headquarters reached Kotree on the 20th December. The men of the 51st were thanked by the Government Consulting Engineer for their services, in the following terms.

“That the ‘Sir Charles Wood’ reached Kotree was in no small measure owing to the hearty way Captain Hemmings exerted himself to save his vessel and was seconded by Lieut.-Colonel Agg, his officers

¹ Companies were designated by letters instead of numbers under Horse Guards Memorandum No. 343, of 10th June, 1865.

and men, and for the assistance so willingly given in a most critical time by the gallant Regiment, I beg on the part of the Board of Directors of the Company to return them my most sincere thanks ; this matter will be brought before Government."

From Kotree the headquarters proceeded to Kurrachee by rail, the three companies under Major Acton having arrived about a fortnight previously. Then, on the 31st December, the whole Regiment—except four officers and sixty-one men who sailed in the *Star of India*—embarked for home in the *Renown*, described as "a magnificent vessel of 1200 tons!" The following were on board:—Lieut.-Colonel Agg, Captains Farrington, Brigstocke, Walker, Thompson, Lieutenants Lewes, Carter, Nugent, Dyer and Pinhey, Ensigns Graeme and White, Lieutenant and Adjutant Clements, Quartermaster Sibbald, Surgeon O'Nial, Assistant-Surgeon Folliott, thirty Sergeants, twenty-two Corporals, fourteen Buglers and 409 Privates.

K company, under Captain Chatfield, with Ensigns Wynne, Turnbull and Ruthven, sailed on the 23rd December in the *Star of India* and experienced a terrible cyclone on the way home, the ship being nearly lost. A few other details—one Sergeant, one Corporal and fourteen men—came home in the *Agamemnon*.

Headquarters in the *Renown* reached Dover on the 4th April, 1867, and occupied the Citadel Barracks, where the company on the *Star of India* joined.

By a War Office letter of the 11th May, 1867, the establishment of the 51st Light Infantry was fixed at one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel, three majors, ten captains, twelve lieutenants, eight ensigns, one paymaster, one adjutant, one quartermaster, one surgeon, one assistant-surgeon; one sergeant-major, nine staff sergeants, forty sergeants, forty corporals, twenty buglers and 560 privates, making a total strength all ranks of 709; but on the 15th May, the actual strength of the 51st Light Infantry appears to have been 882 all ranks.

On the 13th January, 1868, the 51st moved by rail from Dover to Aldershot, occupying quarters in the North Camp, Captain Chatfield's company—K—being temporarily detached for guard duty at Hampton Court Palace; it rejoined the Regiment at Aldershot on the 24th March. The stay here was a brief one, the 51st being ordered, at very short notice, to move on the 16th September, by rail to Portsmouth and thence by sea, *per* H.M. Troopship *Simoom*, to Portland. Arriving here on the night of the 16th, disembarkation was effected the following morning, when headquarters occupied the Verne Citadel Barracks, while C, D, E, and F companies under Major S. A. Madden were detached to Weymouth. During this

move great loss of baggage was occasioned to the Regiment by careless handling in shipment.

While the 51st Light Infantry was quartered at Portland, Lieut.-Colonel W. Agg resigned the command, and was succeeded by Major Madden who was promoted Lieut.-Colonel in his place under date of the 24th July, 1869.

A route was received at headquarters at Portland on the 25th February, 1870, ordering the move of the 51st to Ireland, and the embarkation was effected at that port and Weymouth on the 2nd March, in H.M.S. *Orontes*. Early on the 4th, the troopship entered Kingstown harbour, the baggage was landed next day, but the troops did not disembark until the 7th March, when they were conveyed by river steamers to Cork.

It is worthy of mention that there also voyaged on the *Orontes* the depot of the 105th Light Infantry, which was now attached to the 51st by an order dated Horse Guards, 5th February, 1870.

On arrival at Cork the Regiment was dispatched by rail to its various destinations as under :—

Headquarters, F, H, and I companies, 51st, and depot 105th to Waterford.

B, E, G, and K companies to Clonmel.

A, and D companies to Carrick-on-Suir.

C company to Duncannon Fort.

Shortly after the arrival of the four companies of the 51st Light Infantry at Clonmel, under Captain McQueen, a very serious fire broke out in the town, and the men of the 51st rendered most valuable assistance in extinguishing it. That the leading inhabitants were sincerely appreciative of the help given may be seen by the following letters and resolutions :

" At a numerously attended and influential meeting of the Magistrates and other inhabitants of Clonmel, held in the Court House, Clonmel, on Wednesday, the 30th day of March, 1870, convened by the Right Worshipful Joseph Kenny, J.P., Mayor, to express their feelings of thankfulness for the efficient and willing aid rendered by the 51st or Royal Regiment of Light Infantry, stationed in this town, in arresting the fire that threatened to destroy the commercial establishments and dwelling houses in the immediate vicinity of the Victoria House, which unfortunately could not be saved.

" The Right Worshipful the Mayor in the Chair,

" Upon the motion of Ambrose Lane, Esquire. Seconded by William Louis Hackett, Esquire.

" It was unanimously resolved that the marked thanks of the inhabitants of Clonmel are hereby presented to Captains McQueen, Lewes, Chatfield and Keane, Lieutenants Denshire, Dunlop, Taylor, Moffatt

and Ensign Saunders, and to the non-commissioned officers and men of the companies under their charge of the gallant 51st Royal Light Infantry for their exertions on the occasion in question, since to them, aided by the police and local authorities, is due the prevention of the flames.

"And further that the Mayor do kindly forward these Resolutions to the Right Honorable Lord Strathnairne, commanding Her Majesty's Forces in Ireland, requesting that they may be transmitted to His Royal Highness, the Commander-in-Chief, to show our estimation of the gallantry, zeal and abilities of the above-named officers and the detachment of the 51st Regiment of Light Infantry.

"Joseph Kenny, J.P.

"Counties of Tipperary and Waterford.

"Mayor of Clonmel."

The above resolutions having been forwarded through the Commander-in-Chief in Ireland to the Horse Guards, they were eventually returned to the 51st Light Infantry with the following letters :

"Commander of the Forces' Office,

"Royal Hospital, Dublin,

"April 13th, 1870.

"Sir,

"I am directed by Lord Strathnairne to transmit for your information and that of the officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the detachment under your command, the accompanying copy of a letter from the Military Secretary of the Field Marshal Commanding-in-Chief, conveying His Royal Highness' satisfaction at their conduct at the recent fire at Clonmel.

"I have, etc.,

"L. SMYTH, Colonel. M.S.

"The Officer Commanding, Det. 51st Light Infantry,

"Clonmel."

60,001

"Horse Guards,

"11th April, 1870.

3
"My Lord.

"Having submitted to the Field Marshal Commanding-in-Chief your letter of the 6th inst. with its enclosures from the Mayor of Clonmel, I am directed by the Field Marshal Commanding-in-Chief to acquaint your Lordship that his Royal Highness has perused with much satisfaction this report of the very creditable conduct of the detachment of 51st Light Infantry quartered at Clonmel upon the occasion of a fire which recently broke out there.

"I have, etc.,

"W. F. FORSTER.

"General the Lord Strathnairne, G.C.B."

During this year the 51st furnished detachments—each of one company under Captains Trydell and Burnaby respectively—at Dungarvan and Kilkenny; while from the 15th August, the establishment of the Regiment was raised to 760 privates. Recruiting was consequently very briskly carried on during the autumn and winter, and recruiting sergeants were stationed at Doncaster, Alnwick, Bridgenorth, Stoke, Congleton, Buckingham, Peterborough, Spalding, Boston, New Malton, Hull and Wakefield. A certain number of recruits were also locally obtained, and when, in April, 1871, the Regiment received orders to move to the Curragh it was at a strength of 799 non-commissioned officers and men.

At first only headquarters and one company were sent to the Curragh, arriving there on the 21st April; but it would appear to have early been realized that a regiment, thus divided, could not easily recruit up to the establishment, now again augmented, of 850 rank and file; all detachments were therefore called in and by the end of July the battalion was re-united for the first time since leaving Aldershot in September, 1868. The 51st did not, however, remain more than a few months at the Curragh, and its next change of station found it again divided, headquarters and five companies leaving on the 26th October for Athlone, and the following detachments being furnished:—

One company to Newport,
Two companies to Castlebar,
One company to Tuam,
One company to Ballina,

and parties to Ballaghaderreen and Westport.

In July, 1872, the 51st Light Infantry learnt that it would again proceed on foreign service during the approaching trooping season, and all outlying detachments were now called in; the Regiment moved from Athlone and was concentrated at Fermoy. Here it received 156 transfers from the 27th, 30th, 46th, 82nd, 86th, 91st, 94th, 95th, 100th and 103rd Regiments, and forty-four volunteers from the 1st Battalion 4th Foot, making up its strength to twenty-three officers, forty-eight sergeants, ten buglers and 826 other ranks.

On the 15th October, 1872, the 51st Light Infantry, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Madden, left Ireland for India for the fourth time, sailing in the Indian Troopship *Euphrates*.

In an account by Colour-Sergeant J. C. Sharpe, 51st, of the voyage of the Regiment from Queenstown to Bombay, published in 1873 by the regimental press, we read: "On Thursday, 7th November, we passed Aden at 5 p.m. The 3/60th Rifles lay here and I daresay were very much pleased to see us pass, especially this vessel, as she is

to return with the 105th Regiment from Bombay to relieve and take them (3/60th) to England."

Bombay was reached on the 15th November, the Regiment disembarking early on the following morning, and, proceeding by rail in two trains to Fyzabad, reached that station on the 27th and 29th.

The Regiment remained some three years at Fyzabad, being inspected while there by such well-known soldiers as Generals Olpherts, Lord Napier of Magdala and others, and being almost invariably well reported upon for good behaviour and high discipline. While quartered here—in April, 1874—the monthly Regimental Paper, "The Bugle," was started and proved a great success, assisting much in maintaining old traditions and in making the younger soldiers acquainted with the past distinguished history of their Regiment; the first editor of "The Bugle" was Lieutenant and Adjutant Denshire.

At the end of 1875 orders were received for the 51st Light Infantry to march to Peshawar, and it left Fyzabad on the 4th November, the marching-out strength being twenty-three officers and 631 other ranks, Lieut.-Colonel C. Acton being in command. The Regiment did not proceed direct to Peshawar, but on arrival at Delhi on the 13th December it joined the 2nd Brigade, 2nd Division, at the camp of exercise held in the neighbourhood during the cold weather. These manœuvres were attended by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, the late King Edward, who was then visiting India, and on the 12th January, 1876, he made an inspection of the force which included the 51st Light Infantry.

A week later the Regiment resumed its march to Peshawar where it arrived on the 21st March, after a march of 977 miles from Fyzabad—to find that a draft from England of forty-six rank and file had joined the depot at Peshawar during January. The marching-in strength of the Regiment was twenty officers and 649 effective rank and file, while there were eighteen sick.

During the hot weather of this year the Regiment was thus distributed :—

At Peshawar (headquarters), six officers and eighty-one other ranks.

At Cherat—a small hill-station near Pubbi—three officers and 299 other ranks.

At Nowshera, two officers and 200 other ranks.

At Campbellpore, nineteen other ranks.

In cholera camp, four officers and 161 other ranks.

The Regiment was attacked by cholera in September; there were nine cases, of which seven terminated fatally.

NOTE—On 24th March, 1874, Lieut.-General J. L. Denniss became Colonel, vice Elliott, deceased.

When on the 5th February, 1877, the 51st Light Infantry was inspected at Peshawar by Brig.-General C. C. G. Ross, its strength was as under :

	Officers.		Sergeants.		Corporals.		Buglers.		Men.
Present on Parade—	21	..	40	..	33	..	15	..	522
Sick	—	..	—	..	2	..	—	..	36
Regimental and Garrison									
Employ	—	..	3	..	1	..	1	..	46
On leave	5	..	1	..	—	..	—	..	—
On command ..	1	..	2	..	2	..	1	..	126
On the Staff ..	3								
Garrison Class	5								
Prisoners	—		—		—		—		8
Total strength	35	..	46	..	38	..	17	..	738

The time had now come when the 51st Light Infantry was to take part in another of those punitive expeditions which are so constantly called for by the predatory habits of the tribesmen living on or beyond the north-west frontier of India, and which provide the British portion of the Indian garrison with an invaluable experience of mountain warfare. Of the many warlike and independent tribes which inhabit the hilly country in the immediate neighbourhood of Peshawar, the Afridis are the most turbulent and probably the best armed. The tribe is divided into eight large clans, six of which occupy the country contiguous to the Khyber Pass, a seventh is located to the south of the Bara river, while another, known as the Adam Khel, inhabit the hills between the districts of Kohat and Peshawar. This is one of the most powerful and numerous of the Afridi clans, has a great reputation for bravery, and can bring into the field over 6000 fighting men, who, moreover, are unusually well-armed with rifles stolen from our border cantonments, and with those they themselves manufacture at their factories in the Kohat Pass.

During the days when the Sikhs ruled at Peshawar the Adam Khel were in receipt of an allowance for keeping open the Peshawar-Kohat road—an allowance which the Indian Government continued when, on the decline of the Sikh power, the border country became our natural and troublous inheritance. This short cut through the hills possesses a certain strategic value ; by this road the two frontier garrisons of Kohat and Peshawar are no more than thirty-seven miles apart, and only ten of these are in independent territory, while round by way of Khushalgarh on the Indus the distance is 200 miles.

The Adam Khel Afridis are divided into four branches, but we are here concerned only with the Jawakis, who live to the east of

NOTE—This account of the Afridis and of the Jawaki Expedition is mainly taken from the author's " From the Black Mountain to Waziristan."

the Kohat Pass, and for the most part inhabit the valleys forming the southern portion of the Adam Khel country. They also inhabit the northern valley of Bori, and the country connecting Bori with the southern Jawaki territory.

There have been several occasions on which the action of the Kohat Pass Afridis has made punitive expeditions necessary. There was an expedition under Sir Colin Campbell (Lord Clyde), in 1850 ; another three years later ; and another in August, 1877, especially directed against the Jawaki Afridis, but which did not have the quieting effect which had been anticipated, as the enemy's losses, both in men and property, were comparatively trifling. The object of this expedition had been to punish this particular branch of the clan for persistent aggression—cutting the telegraph line, highway robbery, destroying bridges, and burning villages within our border—and another expedition became imperative, to be conducted more thoroughly and upon a larger scale.

Early in November, 1877, three small columns, composed entirely of Indian troops under Brig.-General Keyes, advanced into the Jawaki country from the Kohat direction, and engaged the enemy on several occasions, but experienced some hindrance from unusually heavy rain. It was considered advisable to advance against and destroy Jamu, one of the enemy's principal fortified villages or group of villages ; but as it seemed certain that heavy loss must be occasioned by the inevitable subsequent retirement from Jamu, Brig.-General Keyes suggested that his operations should be assisted by the advance of a column from Peshawar upon Bori. This was agreed to, and a force of two brigades, composed as under, was detailed to operate from Peshawar under Brig.-General Ross :

1st Brigade under Colonel Doran.

Three guns I/C R. H. A.

51st Light Infantry.

Two companies Sappers and Miners.

22nd Punjab Native Infantry.

27th Punjab Native Infantry.

2nd Brigade under Colonel Buchanan, 9th Foot.

Three guns I/C R. H. A.

13/9th R.A. 40-pounders.

9th Foot.

4th Battalion Rifle Brigade.

14th Native Infantry—now Sikhs.

20th Punjab Native Infantry.

On the 28th November, the headquarters of the 51st, with B, E, G, and K companies left Cherat, where it was at this time stationed, and marched to Jalozai, being there joined by C and F companies

from Nowshera, and on the following morning moved to Fort Mackeson, arriving on the 30th—strength, seventeen officers and 500 other ranks.

Fort Mackeson is about four-and-a-half miles distant from the northern entrance to the Kohat Pass.

The Kohat columns commenced their march towards Jamu on the day appointed, the 1st December, surprised the enemy, burnt his villages, and on the 4th December bivouacked about Bagh. The operations from the Peshawar side were, however, delayed and hampered by the weather and the hoped-for co-operation was largely ineffective. Heavy rain caused a flood on the Indus, the bridge of boats at Attock was destroyed and communications with Rawal Pindi were interrupted, so that it was not until the morning of the 4th December that General Ross' force was able to move into the Jawaki country.

The Bori Valley is separated from the plain to the south of the Mackeson-Sham Shatu road by a rocky range of hills, which is crossed by a comparatively low pass at Kandao, and by a second over a higher part of the ridge known as the Sarghasha. The Bori Valley is about twelve miles long and has an entrance at each extremity, both forming very narrow and very defensible defiles. General Ross' plan of operations was to occupy the crest of the ridge with artillery and infantry, and from this position—completely commanding the Bori Valley—to take steps for attacking the villages and destroying their defences.

The road *via* Kandao was selected for the advance of Ross' 1st Brigade under Colonel Doran, which was to proceed to the crest of the ridge and turn the Sarghasha Pass, while the 2nd Brigade made a direct attack upon it. In this way the summit of the pass became untenable and the enemy abandoned the position and retired firing, some towards the Bori Valley and others along the ridge towards Khui. The two brigades bivouacked that night on the ridge.

On the morning of the 5th December, the 51st and 22nd Native Infantry were ordered to return to Kandao, and march thence by the road along the foot of the hills to the ground near the foot of the Sarghasha Pass; during the day this route was improved by the Sappers and infantry working parties, and was used henceforth as the line of communication with the plains. The 2nd Brigade had some fighting on this day, and during the 6th, 7th and 8th December the troops of the two brigades were occupied in destroying all the fortified villages under a tolerably constant but generally ineffective fire. On the other side of the valley the force under General Keyes had advanced upon and destroyed a village called Ghariba, a place

which had long been regarded as the Alsatia of this part of the border.

Though one column had now traversed much of the Jawaki country, had destroyed many towers and maintained a strict blockade, the enemy still gave no sign of surrender. A further advance was therefore made by both forces in combination into the Pustawani Valley, one of considerable strategic importance and which had not so far been properly surveyed. Heavy rain delayed any forward movement until the 31st December, when both forces advanced, that under General Ross moved almost unopposed through the Bori China Pass to Pustawani, which was reached and destroyed on the 2nd January; Ross returned to the Sarghasha Camp, his rearguard being slightly engaged during the withdrawal. General Keyes' movements were equally thorough and he, too, experienced but little opposition.

For another fortnight or more the two forces remained in the Jawaki country, which was explored and surveyed, and by the 23rd January, 1878, the bulk of the troops employed had been withdrawn to Kohat and Peshawar, a small body of the three arms only remaining temporarily on the Sarghasha ridge as a force of observation.

During the whole operations the total casualties in the two forces under Generals Ross and Keyes amounted to eleven killed and fifty-one wounded; the 51st Light Infantry suffered no loss.

Almost immediately upon the withdrawal of our troops the Jawakis had begun to show signs of submission, and after negotiations, protracted until March, a settlement was effected, the tribesmen agreeing to make complete submission in full durbar at Peshawar, to pay a fine of Rs. 5000, to expel certain ringleaders in recent raids, to surrender a number of English rifles and native matchlocks, and to give hostages for future good behaviour.

In a report made by General Ross and dated 21st December, 1877, he wrote: "The British infantry, as is usual in such cases, were necessarily held to some extent in reserve, but on one occasion I employed two companies of the 51st—G and H—and the detachment of 200 men of the Rifle Brigade in the front line, and to these detachments I trusted chiefly for the occupation of the ridge on the left (east) of the Sarghasha Pass, the security of which was of vital importance and which I had reason to consider liable to attack. I had every reason to be satisfied with the steady discipline and efficiency of these Regiments, and I have much pleasure in recording my thanks to Colonel Madden, 51st, and to Captain Fitzherbert, commanding detachment Rifle Brigade. . . . Captain Wynne, 51st Regiment, was in charge of the Army Signalling Department. The successful way in which he organized and carried out the duties

of this branch have already been noticed in the detailed account of the operations supplied by the D.A.Q.M.G. This officer has shown an intimate knowledge of Army Signalling in all its details, and of the application of the science to the requirements of an army in the field."

In General Ross' report of the 10th January, 1878, he wrote :—
 " I have already mentioned the excellence of the Signalling arrangements under the direction of Captain Wynne, 51st Regiment, during the attack on Bori. During the expedition against Paštaoni communications were kept up constantly by heliograph between my headquarters and the telegraph station in the Mackeson plain, and the precision with which the retirement of the various detachments was effected during my return from Paštaoni was greatly due to the satisfactory distribution and organization of the flag-signalling parties. I attach Captain Wynne's report which fully explains the details of his work."

The Indian Medal, with a clasp for "Jawaki," was granted in 1879, under G. G. O. No. 143 of 1879 and No. 285 of 1880, to all who took part in the active operations against the Jawaki Afridis between the 9th November, 1877, and the 19th January, 1878, inclusive.

The 51st Light Infantry being required to proceed early to Umballa in relief, left the Jawaki country on the 10th December, 1877, halted one night at Fort Mackeson, and reached Peshawar on the 11th.

The 51st marched to Umballa on the 22nd December, followed by a very eulogistic farewell order by Brigadier-General Ross : " On the departure of the 51st King's Own Light Infantry from the Peshawar District," he wrote, " Brigadier-General Ross has much pleasure in placing on record his appreciation of that fine regiment, the good tone and feeling of the officers, and the good conduct and discipline of the men."

From Umballa, where a big draft was waiting to join, the Regiment marched to Subathu, which was reached on the 6th April, 1878 ; and in this hill-station it remained until the autumn of the year, recruiting its strength after the heat of the Peshawar valley in preparation for a new campaign in which it was to take part.

NOTE—An account of the Signalling arrangements in this Expedition was published by Captain A. S. Wynne in the " Journal of the U.S.I. of India " for Sept., 1878. Heliographs were used in these operations for the first time.

AFGHANISTAN

1878-1881

XIX

THE first Afghan War, if it had in some measure tended to lower British prestige beyond the North-West Frontier, had not had any specially evil influence upon the relations between the later rulers of Afghanistan and the Indian Government. During the years that the Amir Doſt Muhammad Khan held sway in Kabul, he proved himself to be a good friend to the British in India; the period of the Indian Mutiny, which might well have provided opportunity for at least the fomenting of trouble between Afghanistan and India, passed quietly on and beyond our Border, and our relations with the Doſt were then so happy that Lord Lawrence was able almost to denude our frontier province of its best troops in order that reinforcements might reach Delhi and other centres of disaffection.

In 1863 the eventful career of Doſt Muhammad Khan was closed by death, and for a time the kingdom his influence and personality had held together was rent by internal dissensions. His son, Shere Ali, eventually gained the throne, and for a time appeared anxious to re-establish the old friendly relations with the government of India. He seemed, however, to consider that his advances had not been well received, for it had been thought advisable to refuse certain requests which he had put forward; and he at last assumed an attitude towards the Indian Government of extreme reserve. Thus matters stood when, in 1875, the Home Government arrived at the conclusion that the time had come when relations with Shere Ali should be placed upon a more definite and satisfactory footing, mainly, if not entirely, in consequence of the danger which appeared to threaten India resulting from the rapid and unchecked advances of Russia in the East.

Lord Lytton, who at this time was Viceroy of India, now proposed to the Amir that he should receive a British Mission at Kabul to concert measures for mutual defence against Russian aggression, but these overtures were not well received by Shere Ali, who made many excuses against the reception of a Mission, stating that he could not guarantee the safety of our Envoy, and that were he to receive a British Mission he could hardly refuse to receive one from Russia should any proposal of this nature be made. Shere Ali did indeed

send one of his ministers to Peshawar where conversations took place between him and Sir Lewis Pelly, the British representative; but these came to nothing, and in 1878 the Amir, at a time when 1878 it seemed more than likely that an interruption of friendly relations between England and Russia was imminent, received and welcomed at Kabul an embassy from the Czar. Under these circumstances it was decided by the British Government to insist upon the reception by Shere Ali of a mission from India.

A mission, at the head of which was Sir Neville Chamberlain, accordingly left Peshawar towards the end of September, 1878, but it was refused passage through the Khyber Pass by the Afghan local commander, and was actually turned back almost under the walls of Fort Ali Musjid. An ultimatum was now sent from Simla to Shere Ali demanding apology, reparation and immediate compliance with our demands for the reception of a mission; but no satisfactory reply having been received by the 20th November, the date-limit named, the various columns which had been prepared for the invasion of Afghanistan were then at once set in motion.

The British forces were to cross the frontier at three points—at Peshawar, at Thal and at Quetta, and the Army of invasion was distributed into three columns—the Peshawar Valley Field Force under Lieut.-General Sir Samuel Browne; the Kurram Valley Field Force under Major-General F. S. Roberts; and the Kandahar Field Force under Lieut.-General D. Stewart.

The Peshawar Valley Field Force, based upon Peshawar, was composed of some 10,000 men with thirty guns; it was assembled at Jamrud, a small fort four miles distant from the mouth of the Khyber Pass, and its initial operation was the capture of the fort at Ali Musjid.

The 51st Light Infantry had been warned for active service so soon as war began to threaten, and on the 18th October, 1878, leaving a depot company (D) behind at Subathu, it marched for the plains at a strength of thirteen officers and 559 other ranks. Arrived at Rawal Pindi, it was at once pushed on into the Peshawar Valley and finally arrived on the 20th November at Jamrud, under command of Colonel Madden, the marching-in strength being sixteen officers and 543 non-commissioned officers and men. At Jamrud the Regiment found itself forming part of the Fourth Brigade of the Peshawar Valley Field Force; the brigade was under the command of Brigadier-General W. B. Browne, 81st Foot, and the other regiments composing it were the 6th and 45th Bengal Native Infantry.

Lieut.-General Sir Sam Browne's plan of operations for the capture of Ali Musjid Fort was as follows: the 1st and 2nd Brigades were to move forward and work their way to the rear of the fort, one brigade proceeding by way of the heights to the north, whence the

fort itself might be commanded, while the other was to make a wide detour behind the Rhotas hills to the north of the fort, eventually emerging near the village of Katta Kushtia, commanding the exit from the defile through which it was expected that the garrison would attempt to retreat in the event of its being driven from the fort. With the rest of the division Sir Sam Browne intended to make a frontal attack upon the Afghan position. The 1st and 2nd Brigades moved off on the night of the 20th November, and it was hoped they would reach the positions assigned to them by 1 p.m. on the 21st. The rest of the Division, therefore, left Jamrud at 7 a.m. on the 21st, the 4th Brigade bringing up the rear.

With the 51st were the following officers : Colonel Madden, Lieut.-Colonel Ball-Acton, Major Burnaby, Captains Nugent, Graeme and Seppings, Lieutenants Smyth, Burnett, Sparke, Spragge (orderly officer to the brigadier), Johnson and Lloyd, Captain and Adjutant Drury, Quartermaster Murray, Paymaster Roberts and Surgeon Major Jones. Of other ranks there were twenty-eight sergeants, twenty-three corporals, fourteen buglers and 473 privates.

About 11 a.m. the advance guard reached the Shagai Ridge, whence Ali Musjid and its defences could be distinctly seen some 2,500 yards distant. The enemy opened fire about noon and very soon all the British guns with General Browne were in action, when the General ordered the 3rd Brigade to advance and, working round to the north, to endeavour to get possession of some high ground commanding the fort from this side. The 4th Brigade was then brought up to the Shagai Ridge from whence the enemy's left was to be attacked. The share taken by the 51st Light Infantry in this day's action is described in different reports which have been preserved and from which the following account is drawn.

Soon after arrival on the Shagai Ridge Colonel Madden was ordered to detach Bt. Major Burnaby's company to occupy a low range of rocks on the immediate right to act as a baggage guard on the advance taking place ; two companies under Captain Nugent were sent to the extreme right ; two more under Bt. Lieut.-Colonel Acton, with one under Captain Seppings in support, proceeded to occupy a ridge to the right front ; and B Company remained behind as a reserve.

Colonel Acton moved out with A and G companies under Lieutenants Burnett and Sparke, and on reaching the position which had been pointed out to him he found the 14th Sikhs occupying it ; he therefore moved A Company to the left and seems to have thus lost touch with it, when he advanced with Lieutenant Sparke's company and took up a position among some rocks further to the front. Here the party came under musketry and gun fire, and one man, Private Nelson, was mortally wounded, being shot through the head. Colonel

Acton now noticed a pathway which seemed to lead to a position from which he could get above the enemy engaged with G, so leaving this company to keep the Afghans in play, he caught up the two companies, E and F under Captain Nugent¹, and reached a commanding position from which he was able to fire down upon the enemy at a range of 800 yards, doing considerable execution. Captain Nugent was here struck by a spent bullet and one man was wounded in the arm.

G. Company was now reinforced by B, which prolonged the line to the left and here Lance-Corporal Holland, of B Company, was slightly wounded.

Day was now closing in and there appearing to be no sign of the effect on the enemy of any turning movement—the ground traversed by the 1st and 2nd Brigades having been found to be extraordinarily difficult—General Sir Sam Browne ordered firing to cease, drew in his brigades and put out outposts for the night. C and H Companies under Captain Seppings and Major Burnaby, with the 6th, 14th and 27th Native Infantry, provided the outposts.

At daybreak on the 22nd November it was noticed that the menace of the flank attack had been effective, the fort at Ali Musjid had been abandoned under cover of darkness, and the enemy—who had mustered some 3,800 strong, with twenty-four guns, had fled by the Pesh Bolak pass on the right of their position. On this morning B Company brought in the brass gun which the previous day had been firing on the advanced companies of the 51st.

The total casualties sustained by the Peshawar Valley Force in the operations of the 21st, amounted to two officers and thirteen men killed, one officer and thirty-three men wounded.

After the capture of Fort Ali Musjid the bulk of Sir Sam Browne's force proceeded leisurely through the Khyber Pass to Dakka, which was reached on the 24th November, and here it remained halted for some weeks. The 3rd Brigade remained in garrison at Landi Khana while the 4th held possession of Ali Musjid, and upon this force devolved the arduous duty of safeguarding the pass between Shagai and Katta Kushtia, a tract infested with robber tribesmen and where raids on convoys, thefts of telegraph wire and similar depredations were of daily and nightly occurrence.

From Dakka on the 27th November General Sir Sam Browne issued the following divisional order: "The Lieutenant-General Commanding has much pleasure in publishing the following telegram received last evening from H.E. the Viceroy and Governor-General: 'The Secretary of State sends you congratulations on successful operations against Ali Musjid; I desire to add my most cordial ones

¹ Captain Smyth and Lieut. Johnson were also with these companies.

on brilliant success which attended your operations against Ameer's troops in the Khyber.' Lieutenant-General Sir Sam Browne in announcing the expression of satisfaction of the Government at the success of the capture of Ali Musjid, begs to tender his thanks to the officers and men of the force he has the honour to command for the good work they have done. He assures them he most fully appreciates the cheerfulness and soldierlike spirit with which they have borne the roughing on the hillside, and the Lieutenant-General will not fail to bring to the notice of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief his approval and satisfaction of their good service."

From the 24th to the 29th November there was constant firing into the camp at night by the Zakka Khel Afridis and other tribesmen to the south-west of the pass, and for several days considerable numbers assembled on the adjacent ridges. On the night of the 25th November a daring attempt was made to rush a small picquet composed of one officer, one sergeant and fifteen men of the 51st Light Infantry, occupying a conical hill to the left of the Khyber stream, which commanded the river bed and a track leading to the south-west. The picquet was commanded by Lieutenant Johnson and succeeded in driving off the assailants, Sergeant Binge being severely, and four men slightly, wounded. Then on the 27th about 8 p.m. there was an organized attack on the camp and the outlying picquets; after an hour's heavy fighting this attack was repelled, but the tribesmen seemed in such force in the neighbourhood of Ali Musjid that communications in the pass were interrupted for two days, and were not re-opened until reinforcements of two battalions and some guns were, as a temporary measure, sent to Ali Musjid from Landi Khana.

During the early part of December some changes were made in the distribution and composition of the Peshawar Valley Force; the headquarters, under General Sir Sam Browne, advanced from Dakka to Jalalabad, and a Reserve Division which had been collected at Hassan Abdal moved forward to Peshawar, when General Maude took over the command of all troops in that station and in the Khyber Pass; the 4th Brigade of Sir Sam Browne's division was broken up and the battalions composing it were absorbed into the 3rd Brigade under Brig.-General Appleyard.

It was now decided to punish the tribesmen mainly responsible for the recent attacks on the camp at Ali Musjid, to move into the Bazar Valley where the greater number of the villages whence they had issued were situated, to surround their strongholds and to attempt the capture of their leading men. With this object in view arrangements were made for the simultaneous advance of two columns—the one from Ali Musjid, the other from Dakka. The Ali Musjid column, which was accompanied by General Maude in person and

commanded by Brig.-General Doran, consisted of three Horse Artillery guns, some troops of the 11th and 13th Bengal Lancers, 300 of the 5th Fusiliers, 200 of the 51st Light Infantry, the 2nd Gurkhas and the Mhairwara Battalion.

The contingent of 200 of the 51st was provided by B, C and F Companies under Bt. Lieut.-Colonel Acton, and comprised eight officers, nine sergeants and 204 rank and file. The force left Ali Musjid at 5 p.m. on the 19th December, Lieut.-Colonel Acton's party moving in rear, and the idea being to surprise the village of Chora. This was reached an hour and a half before daybreak, and after a brief halt the force marched on to China, where it arrived about 1 p.m. and here the troops remained for the night, finding picquets on the surrounding hills; it was intensely cold, the water freezing in the men's water bottles.

On the morning of the 21st December the Bazar Valley proper was reached, and smoke ascending from another part of the valley showed that the Dakka column had also reached its destination; several of the enemy towers were blown up, but little or no opposition was experienced, until the retirement of the troops commenced on the 22nd. The 51st was now leading the column, B company under Captain Graeme forming the advance guard. The tribesmen being seen endeavouring to occupy some high ground on the right of the route, Captain Graeme was sent to picquet it, supported by half of Captain Nugent's company, and these drove off the enemy and held the heights until the greater part of the column had safely passed. One man of B Company, Private Ashmore, received a contusion. Camp at Ali Musjid was regained the same night.

On the night of the 19th January, 1879, shots were fired into a picquet of the 51st consisting of six men under Lance-Sergeant Beswick, posted on the south side of the Camp, and two 1879 men—Privates Downey and Gall—were wounded. Early the following morning the camp was again disturbed, a robber breaking into the tent occupied by Paymaster Sergeant Webber and Orderly-Room Clerk Kersley, when the former was severely wounded by a stab in the arm.

With the withdrawal of our troops from the Bazar Valley the Khyber Pass Afridis continued to give trouble, and the political officers made every effort to break up the tribal combination, and with a certain measure of success. Certain branches of the tribe tendered their submission, but the attitude of the Zakka Khel continued to be unsatisfactory, and Major Cavagnari, the political officer, suggested that the Bazar Valley should again be entered and temporarily occupied, and that troublesome villages in the Bazar and Bara districts should in turn be visited. Major-General Maude

accordingly arranged for a second expedition by his troops in co-operation with a force from the 1st Division.

Three columns were to be employed : two to move from Jamrud and Ali Musjid, the one by Chora, the other by Alachi, and when these two should have effected a junction they were to move on and join the column of the 1st Division from Basawal at the head of the Bazar Valley. The three columns in combination were to scour the valley during three days, and then to move on to Bara, but by some misunderstanding the Indian Government, when approving of the proposed operations, limited their duration to ten days, so that General Maude was unable to carry out all that he had intended.

The Ali Musjid-Alachi column was commanded by Brig.-General Appleyard and was composed of two guns Royal Artillery, 213 officers and men of the 51st, thirty-one sappers, 312 of the 2nd Gurkhas, and 320 of the Mhairwara Battalion. 311 of the 6th Bengal Infantry from Landi Kotal were also placed at General Appleyard's disposal.

The party of the 51st Light Infantry was made up from A, C, G and H Companies and was under the command of Major Burnaby.

The Ali Musjid force moved off on the 25th January, the 51st providing the advance guard and, moving by Alachi, reached the large village of Karamna ; here the towers were blown up and the troops passed the night. Next day the column moved on through a narrow defile to the village of Burg, where the Jamrud party arrived at the same time. China was reached the same evening and here the camp was "sniped" into throughout the night, but the casualties were few and nobody in the 51st was hit. From China two columns moved out in different directions on the 27th January, meeting no opposition. That evening the column from the 1st Division joined, and next morning a large force was sent out against the Afridis, who were in great strength, but only some fifty men of the 51st, under Captain Kennett, took part in this day's operations.

For some days longer the combined force remained in the Bazar Valley, but at the end of that time the return of the column from the 1st Division was urgently demanded in view of a possible tribal attack on Jalalabad and Dakka, while it seemed probable that to press the operations now in progress against the Khyber Pass Afridis might bring on a tribal war on a large scale—a result which was to be avoided in view of our already sufficiently wide commitments. General Maude therefore decided to withdraw the whole force, the more readily that certain terms of agreement had been made with the local tribesmen. On the 3rd February then the three columns retired, and on the same night the party of the 51st, under Major Burnaby, rejoined headquarters at Ali Musjid.

On the 8th March the 51st Light Infantry was transferred from

the command of Brig.-General Appleyard at Ali Musjid to the 3rd Brigade of the 1st Division of the Peshawar Valley Field Force, and was directed to march to Jalalabad, escorting thither the elephant battery of 40-pounders daily expected from Peshawar. Wet weather, however, delayed the arrival of the battery at Ali Musjid and its onward journey thence until the 17th March. Landi Kotal was reached this day by the 51st and the battery, and Dakka next day. Here orders were received that 300 men of the Regiment were to be employed on the following day on some special expedition, the nature and object of which were not then disclosed, and B, E, F and H companies under Colonel Acton were detailed to hold themselves in readiness. On the night of the 18th this party marched from Dakka to Basawal and took part in some operations against the Shinwaris in conjunction with another force operating from Barakab. The operations were concluded without bloodshed, the Shinwaris at once complying with our terms. The remainder of the Regiment overtook the four companies with Colonel Acton at Barakab on the 23rd March, and on the 24th the Regiment marched in to Jalalabad and encamped near Piper's Hill.

On the 29th the 51st Light Infantry was inspected by Lieut.-General Sir Sam Browne, who remarked that "he was glad to have the Regiment in his Division again, and that it was a Regiment any General might be proud to have under his command."

On the 1st April, A Company, made up to 100 strong by men from C, commanded by Captain Kennett, with whom was Lieutenant Milton, formed part of a force detailed to operate in the Lughman Valley with the view of effecting the capture or punishment of a refractory chief, one Azamattalah Khan, who was believed to be inciting the people of the district to rise against the British. It was on this occasion that nearly a whole squadron of the 10th Hussars was drowned in the Kabul River.

The 51st marched from Jalalabad towards Gundamuck on the 25th April, still escorting the elephant battery, and, halting one night at Neemlah and another at Baoli, arrived on the 27th at Safed Sung, a village overlooking Gundamuck which lay some miles distant in the valley below.

The successes already achieved by the Peshawar Valley and Kurram Valley forces had caused the Amir hurriedly to leave Kabul and fly to Turkestan, leaving the conduct of affairs to his son Yakub Khan. His assumption of authority afforded the Indian Government an opportunity of opening negotiations, to which the Sirdar made a friendly response, and finally it was arranged that he should come in to Gundamuck and discuss preliminaries of peace with the British representatives.

Accordingly Sirdar Yakub Khan reached Gundamuck on the 8th May, and the 51st Light Infantry, formed for this day only into one brigade with the 17th Foot and 4th Btn. Rifle Brigade, assisted to line the road into camp. On the 26th May a treaty was signed by the Amir on one side, and by Major Cavnari, as representing the Indian Government, on the other, and by it the objects for securing which the Government had entered upon war were believed to be amply secured. After ratification the Amir returned to his capital, and orders were at once issued for the withdrawal of the two northern divisions, that of the Kandahar field force being postponed until the autumn for reasons rather of health than of policy.

¹The order for the retirement by the Khyber line was issued by the Commander-in-Chief on the 31st May, and while all Indian regiments were directed to march separately, the European troops of the 1st Division were grouped in five sections, each from 600-700 strong and each in charge of an experienced medical officer. The 51st Light Infantry formed, with E/c R.A., the 3rd Section under command of Colonel Madden with Surgeon Major G. J. H. Evatt in medical charge, and this Section started from Safed Sung or Gundamuck for India on June 5th.

"The temperature by day ranged from 110° to 118° Fahr. in the shade; the nights were so hot that sleep was impossible; there were constant dust storms and swarms of flies; water was scarce and generally bad. Surgeon General Ker Innes's report gives a graphic picture of the state to which the miseries of this terrible march had reduced both officers and men; 'their clothes were stiff from profuse perspiration and dust. Their countenances betokened great nervous exhaustion, combined with a wild expression difficult to describe. The eyes injected and even sunken; a burning skin, black with the effects of sun and dirt; a dry tongue, a weak voice, a thirst which no amount of fluids seemed to relieve. Many of the men staggered, rather than marched into their tents, and threw themselves down utterly incapable of further exertion until refreshed by sleep and food.' Men thus weakened and dispirited fell an easy prey to disease of every kind. Those struck down on the line of march suffered tortures in the rough bullock carts which carried them slowly forward to the nearest temporary hospital. At each camping ground every regiment and corps left its toll of dead. . . . This march of death extended over a period of five weeks, from the end of May to the beginning of July, and during that time there were 354 deaths from cholera among the European troops.² Their

¹ What follows is mainly taken from Hanna's *Second Afghan War*, Vol. 3, p. 4, et seq.

² In the Peshawar Valley Field Force only.

Native comrades suffered less severely, yet, even in their ranks, the mortality was heavy, and numbers of camp followers fell victims to the disease."

The death-rate on the Khyber line, in 1878-79, was 138·15 per 1000; in Peshawar cantonments it was 141·84 per 1,000, as against 5·33 in Fort William, Calcutta, and 5·34 in Bareilly!

Marching down from Safed Sung to India, the 51st was at Fort Battye on the 5th June, Rozeabad on the 6th, Jalalabad on the 7th and reached Ali Bayan on the 8th; here cholera, which had already made its appearance in Jalalabad city, was detected among the troops. On the 9th the Regiment was at Chardeh, on the 10th there was a fifteen-mile march to Girdi, and on the 11th the 51st reached Dakka, where we read that "cholera was at work amongst us, and to-day again there were several seizures both of English soldiers and native followers." On the 12th June the halting place was Landi Khana, where "the Khyber Pass enclosed us trailing along between its familiar walls of brown. Especially oppressive was this latter portion of the march, made more so by the stench arising from rotting carcases which we came upon everywhere by the roadside. As we came near Landi Khana these became more offensive than ever. Great bloated, overfed vultures were hovering about our destined night's camping place. A fetid unhealthy smell tainted the whole place, while volumes of smoke denoted where the thrown-out straw and refuse from the cholera camp were being burnt, and we wished ourselves anywhere rather than in this spot."

On the 13th June the Regiment camped at Katta Kushtia in the very *narrows* of the Khyber, where at midday the thermometer in the tents stood at 130 deg., while "as the afternoon dragged itself slowly away cholera patients were being continually admitted to hospital."

Marching on, the 51st reached on the 16th June Hari Singh ka Burj at the outskirts of Peshawar, the city being then, as described by Colonel Hanna, "a charnel house. All the hospitals were full of patients. On the parade ground was a large cholera camp," and a picquet was posted on the main road from the Khyber to the Peshawar cantonments to divert the convoys of sick that were continually pouring along it. At Hari Singh ka Burj the Regiment halted four days, and then moved on to Cherat on the 20th June by a circuitous route avoiding entry into Peshawar. Headquarters with A, B and C Companies marched on this day, the remainder on the 22nd, Cherat being finally reached on the 25th and 27th.

Thirty-five men of the Regiment died during the month of June, and of them we read in the Monthly Report dated 18th July: "Nearly every one of these deaths are due to the Regiment having marched through the plains from Safed Sung to Cherat during the month of

June, along a route where cholera was known to be prevalent from Jalalabad to Peshawar. The men were utterly exhausted by the march, which, being most of it in an enemy's country, entailed more hardship on the men."

During the month of July nine men died, as to whom the following appears in the Monthly Return of the 1st August: "Many of the deaths are due to the excessive fatigue and hardships gone through on the march from Safed Sung to Cherat."

Greatly as the 51st suffered during what has appropriately been called "the March of Death," some of the British units of their force had even more casualties during the return India-wards from the borders of Afghanistan; thus it is on record that "the Rifle Brigade lost two officers and forty-six men, besides six men of sun stroke. Deputy Surgeon General Hanbury had to report, on the arrival of the 17th Foot at Landi Kotal, that every officer and soldier in the Regiment was more or less sick."¹

The following is an extract from Division Orders by Lieut.-General Sir Sam Browne, commanding 1st Division, dated Peshawar, 19th July, 1879:

"The First Division Peshawar Valley Field Force having this day been broken up, Lieut.-General Sir Sam Browne takes advantage of the occasion to place on record and acknowledge his appreciation of the discipline and good conduct of the troops lately under his command. During the period of nearly eight months the troops have been in the field there have been only six applications for Court Martial, complaints on the part of the inhabitants of ill-treatment or marauding there have been none, in fact the Lieut.-General has no hesitation in asserting that nothing could have exceeded the good conduct of the troops. Officers and men have on occasions been ordered on expeditions trying to their endurance and undergoing great exposure and fatigue; these they have always borne with truly soldierlike cheerfulness and sense of duty.

"To all officers, non-commissioned officers and men the Lieut.-General begs to tender his sincere thanks. . . . To officers commanding Batteries and Regiments Sir Sam Browne tenders his acknowledgments for the able and efficient manner in which they performed their respective duties and the support and assistance they have invariably rendered him."

Of the 51st Light Infantry in particular the Lieut.-General made the following special report:—"The 51st K.O.L.I. is a Regiment excellent in its discipline, and excellent in the soldierlike spirit it has shown always throughout the time it has been under my orders. The state of efficiency reflects great credit on Colonel Madden and Captain

¹ Hanna, "The Second Afghan War," Vol. 3, p. 8.

Drury the adjutant, and I think therefore their services should be brought to notice."

The weeks which now followed were for the 51st Light Infantry no more than a breathing space, the Afghan war was by no means over, since the Treaty made at Gundamuck did not put an end to hostilities but provided only a brief suspension of arms.

Shortly after the ratification of the Treaty Major Cavagnari proceeded to Kabul as British Envoy, accompanied by an insignificant escort, and, arriving at the Afghan capital on the 24th July, was cordially received, and for some ten days or more all seemed to be going well. As early as the 6th August, however, indications of hostility were to be observed, the attitude of the people became inimical, relations between the Embassy and the Amir became strained, and finally, on the 3rd September, an attack was made upon the British Residency by regular Afghan soldiers and rioters from the city. The splendid soldiers of the Guides who formed the escort resisted attack throughout the day, the defence was conducted with devoted gallantry, but at last numbers prevailed, the Residency was fired, and about 8 o'clock in the evening the last of the garrison was overcome and slain.

The first news of the outbreak reached India early on the morning of the 5th September, but it was not until night that a full account of the extent of the disaster was received, when the Indian Government acted with commendable promptitude. It was decided that Kabul must be occupied as early as possible, and to this end orders were issued that a strong column should move on Kabul *via* the Shutargardan Pass, and that preparation should be made for the maintenance of its communications by the Khyber and Kurram routes.

Major-General R. O. Bright, who it will be remembered had held temporary command of the 51st Light Infantry in 1861-2, was appointed to the command of a division which was mobilized for the purpose of opening up and maintaining communications between Jumrud and Kabul. The 51st was detailed, with the 22nd and 27th Punjab Infantry, to form the 2nd Brigade of this force under Brig.-General C. B. Arbuthnot, C.B., and in compliance with orders received commenced its march westward from Cherat on the 29th September. On this day, A and F Companies moved off towards Peshawar escorting 13/9 Heavy Battery Royal Artillery. These heavy guns had been specially asked for by Sir Frederick Roberts, but had to be sent back on arrival in the Khyber owing to the difficulties of the road. The remainder of the 51st left Cherat on the 12th October and, crossing the frontier at a strength of twenty officers and 402 other ranks, eventually reached Jalalabad on the 23rd October.

The Regiment did not proceed on service at full strength : B Company under Captain Carter with Lieutenant Cave-Brown-Cave remained at Cherat with 207 non-commissioned officers and men, mostly time-expired men and invalids proposed for discharge, while D Company was left at Subathu.

Jalalabad was to be Brig.-General Arbuthnot's headquarters, and the 2nd Brigade of Major-General Bright's division was to be responsible for the safety of the line of communication between Basawal and Gundamuck.

On the 12th October the Amir Yakub Khan announced his intention of abdicating the throne, and later he was sent down to India, A, C, E and F Companies of the 51st Light Infantry providing the escort for the ex-Amir from Jalalabad to Basawal, marching on the 4th and returning on the 8th December.

Nothing of importance occurred on the Khyber line till the middle of December, when it became known that the force under General Roberts at Kabul was being attacked by immense numbers of the enemy, and orders were received for the 1st Brigade of General Bright's division to hold itself in readiness for an advance at any moment to Kabul, and how this affected the movements of the 51st may be learnt from the account published in the *Bugle* for March, 1880.

"December 12th. A Company under Lieutenant Milton, E Company under Captain Smyth with Lieutenant Butler, and F Company under Lieutenant Thurlow, marched at short notice under command of Colonel Acton from Jalalabad for Safed Sung ; a dreadful march, the first three miles in the teeth of a blinding dust-storm. . . . 13th. Breakfasted at Fort Batty, march into Safed Sung with much less fatigue than on the previous day's shorter march. . . . 16th. Colonel Norman¹ was still at Gundamuck with some of the 24th Punjab Infantry, three companies 51st and a few details 9th Foot and Gurkhas being the garrison of Safed Sung. A telegram was received from Jalalabad that headquarters 51st, and two companies of 45th and 24th would arrive next day. Late in the afternoon a heliogram from General Charles Gough (commanding 1st Brigade) from Jagdalak—"Precedence, all posts attacked send reinforcements, send news"—whereupon it was determined that the three companies 51st should march on the morrow for Pezwan, in addition to the 24th Punjab Infantry already under orders. Captain Nugent rejoined his company from Jalalabad.

"17th. At 8 a.m. A and E Companies with their own and F Company's baggage marched for Pezwan, F Company was to remain behind till it was certainly known that the headquarters were coming

¹ This officer was relieving posts hitherto occupied by troops of the 1st Brigade.

in that day, so that Safed Sung should not remain quite empty. Half the Company also were required for completing the clearance of Gundamuck. On arrival at Pezwan we found that Colonel Norman with all available troops, some of which had marched that morning from Gundamuck, had started to open communications with General Gough in response to a heliogram—'send a force to meet a party retiring from Jagdalak.' Norman took with him three companies 24th, forty-six men of 72nd, 150 Gurkhas, No. 6 Company Sappers and Miners and two guns—about 700 men. He asked for twenty-five men of the 51st to hold Pezwan Kotal and signalling station whence they could see his advance towards Jagdalak for miles. As the men were already tired with their march of 12 miles, volunteers were called for, and the required number came forward at once and marched to the Kotal where they remained till dark. . . .

"18th. At 8 a.m., leaving A Company as camp guard, E and F Companies, under command of Captain Nugent, with Captain Smyth, Lieutenants Sparke, Thurlow and Butler, half a company of the 24th under Lieutenant Lambe, with supplies of food for Colonel Norman's force, marched to reinforce him. . . . About a mile short of Colonel Norman's position a road branches off to the left or south, up a nullah on to the enemy's right. Believing that Colonel Norman would attack him, and that we could come with effect on his right at the same time, Colonel Acton, leaving F Company to go on with the food, turned off the road with E Company and the half company 24th. The latter had formed the advance guard, crowning all the heights quickly and skilfully; it now became our right and advanced along the ridges, while E Company followed the nullah. . . . It was not long before we came under fire. . . . As we advanced the enemy soon cleared off our side of the hill. About this time we heard the 'retire' being sounded with the 51st call. Drawing in E Company to the right, Colonel Acton went over and conferred with Colonel Norman. As the latter did not think any good was to be got in driving off the enemy, and that our object was really to communicate with General Gough, E Company and the half company 24th were called in. Then seeing the Jagdalak party descending from the Kotal, E and F and the half company 24th moved off to meet them."

The next few days and nights there was a good deal of long-range firing into the camp, convoys were passed through to Jagdalak, and reinforcements came up from Safed Sung, about 150 strong of four different regiments. On the 24th Major Thackeray's force at Jagdalak Kotal was very heavily attacked, necessitating support being given from Pezwan; and on the 28th December E Company

marched to Jagdalak, being replaced at Pezwan by H Company under Captain Denshire with Lieutenant Corbett.

About this time the force at Pezwan under Colonel Acton, 51st, comprised :

- 2 guns Royal Horse Artillery.
- 1 officer and 50 men, 10th Bengal Lancers.
- 6 officers and 150 men, 51st Light Infantry.
- 1 officer and 50 men, 24th Punjab Infantry.
- 4 officers and 80 men, Sappers and Miners.

" 29th. At 7.15 a.m. a telegram arrives from General Arbuthnot : ' send 2 companies 51st, 6 companies 45th and 4 guns to Jagdalak if you can spare them.' In compliance therewith, A and F Companies 51st under Lieutenant Milton and Captain Nugent, 45th Sikhs and 4 guns, left Pezwan, Lieutenant Thurlow acting as brigade major and Colonel Acton commanding the whole. No enemy appeared to interrupt the march till past Jagdalak Kotal and in sight of Jagdalak camp. On passing the former an order was received for one company 51st to stop there. This was afterwards cancelled and both companies went on to Jagdalak, but the delay prevented them arriving till long after dark, when the enemy had retired some time.

" About 4 p.m. the advance guard—45th Sikhs and the guns—arrived within $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles of Jagdalak. . . . For some time since passing the Kotal, we had heard guns firing, and we now learnt that the enemy was only on the right, and that he was endeavouring to get at our expected baggage and convoy which Colonel Norman was keeping him off : we were therefore to crown the heights on our right. From the Kotal to Jagdalak, about 3 miles, the road follows a nullah, the half of which is steep and narrow. The heights on our right, not more than 100 feet above us, shut out all further view, but on ascending one of these we were on a plateau and could see three large standards on one hill, and many of the enemy there and on other hills on our front. Jagdalak camp was then in sight, and the road being covered by Colonel Norman's troops our baggage and convoy could go on without escort, and the advance guard and guns were free to ascend the high ground. They were accordingly brought up and the guns came into action at once. A few bullets whistling over us showed that we were within range of the enemy."

It was decided wiser not to attack the enemy who was strongly placed and very numerous, and during the night he withdrew and the road was once more open ; on this day Private Salmon, 51st, was slightly wounded. On the 31st December F Company, with Captain Nugent and Lieutenant Butler, and 2 guns, moved to the Kotal fort, A and E Companies remaining at Jagdalak.

With reference to these operations General Bright wrote in his

despatch of the 15th January, 1880, that, "By the opportune arrival of Lieut.-Colonel Acton's force with guns of 11/9 R.A., the enemy's intention was frustrated and he was driven off to the distant hills, from which no further advance was made."

By a re-distribution of troops the 51st Light Infantry was placed in the 1st Brigade, 2nd Division, Kabul Field Force, the Brigade being commanded by Brig.-General W. Roberts and the Division by Major-General J. Ross.

On the 13th January, the headquarters of the 51st marched to Pezwan from Safed Sung; three days later A Company was also brought in from Jagdalak; and on the 1st February a very welcome reinforcement joined headquarters represented by a draft from home of 2 sergeants and 213 rank and file, which had landed in Bombay on the 20th of the preceding October.

In the month of March there was a further change in the distribution of the troops, the recently created 2nd Division of the Kabul Field Force being broken up, and the majority of the troops composing it now coming under command of Lieut.-General Bright, who had been appointed Inspector-General of Communications; the line over which his authority extended was divided into three sections extending from Jumrud to Basawal, Basawal to Safed Sung and Safed Sung to Butkhak; but the 51st Light Infantry was placed in the Gundamuck moveable column, which, equally with the Jalalabad moveable column, was commanded by Brig.-General Arbuthnot.

Early in March the attitude of the tribes on the lines of communication became very threatening, the garrisons of Jagdalak and Pezwan had to be reinforced, and an infantry regiment called up from the rear. "On the 22nd two officers of the 51st Light Infantry, Lieutenants B. S. Thurlow and H. A. S. Reid, were attacked while riding between Jagdalak Fort and Jagdalak Kotal. Thurlow was mortally wounded, and Reid, in trying to carry him off, had a desperate hand-to-hand struggle with an Afghan, and though he finally blew out his assailant's brains, the approach of a large number of Ghilzais obliged him to abandon his friend's body, which was not recovered till the following day." Lieutenant Reid received a bullet through his sleeve.

On the 11th April, General Arbuthnot's moveable column, strengthened specially for the occasion, and accompanied by Lieut.-General Bright, started out to punish the Ghilzais implicated in Thurlow's murder. On the first night out the troops were much harassed by the enemy, some of whom actually penetrated into the camp under cover of the darkness, and wounded four artillerymen beside their

¹ Hanna, "Second Afghan War," Vol. 3, p. 364.

guns. The chief of this section of the tribe came in on the 13th offering submission, but his followers held aloof; and when next day Colonel Acton with two mountain guns, a troop of the Carabniers, and 600 infantry, pushed on to reconnoitre the Awazangani Gorge, it was found to be very strongly held. Major Burnaby with A and C Companies, 51st, advanced towards the position with two companies in support, and two others were ordered to attack the hill on the right. F and G Companies accordingly moved on, accompanied by Colonel Acton. The enemy's fire was at first ineffective, but on nearing the position Private Dowling was slightly wounded; the hill was ascended covered by the fire of the guns, and the Afghans withdrew, and G Company picquetted the hill while the remainder of the column moved on to attack Mazulla Khan's fort and village. These were found deserted, and the column bivouacked in and about them that night. As dusk came on the enemy began firing into the bivouac, continuing to do so throughout the night, and shouting as though meaning to assault the position, and Sergeant McCarthy, 51st, was shot through the head and killed instantly.

On the next day 200 men of the 51st formed part of a reconnoitring party under Colonel Acton, which moved out to destroy some villages, among them being those from which the men were supposed to have come who had murdered Lieut. Thurlow. There was some opposition on retirement to camp and Captain Nugent was struck by a spent bullet.

On the 16th the column commenced to fall back on Pezwan, the 51st Light Infantry and 1st Gurkhas providing the rearguard and remaining on the ground until the baggage and the rest of the troops had been withdrawn, and the fortified towers had been blown up. The rearguard did not move off quite as soon as was intended, for a man of the 51st was reported missing, and search had to be made for him, thus affording time for the enemy to draw near and take up positions from which to harass the retreat. On firing being opened from the adjacent villages and orchards, Sergeant Rawkins, of the regiment, was early wounded in the leg. The retirement was well conducted, the companies covering each other and taking up fresh positions, but three or four men of the 51st were wounded, and the rearguard continued to be molested up to within a comparatively short distance of Pezwan.

On the 31st May the moveable column under Brig.-General Arbuthnot, consisting of 1 squadron 6th Dragoon Guards, 1 squadron 4th Bengal Cavalry, 2 guns Royal Field Artillery, the 51st Light Infantry, 1st Gurkhas and 31st Punjab Infantry—in all 1,605 bayonets and 226 sabres—marched for the Lughman Valley in consequence of the

threatening attitude of the local tribes. After halting one day at Safed Sung, the march was resumed, and on the 4th June the force reached the bank of the Kabul River opposite the fortified village of Sali Kali. Rafts were here prepared and the river was crossed on the 8th and 9th. These were two days of real hard work, for the rafts had to be loaded and unloaded and dragged up stream after crossing. The next two days were spent in destroying the forts of the principal offenders among the tribesmen, in seizing cattle and in cutting green crops for forage, these being the only means of realizing a fine as the inhabitants had all disappeared. There was no opposition during these operations, and on the 11th June the troops commenced to recross the Kabul River, picquets being posted to cover the crossing on a semi-circle of low mounds forming a natural *tete-de-pont* to the ferry selected.

A and H Companies of the 51st formed the rearguard, and as they evacuated the positions they had held, these were at once occupied by the Lughmanis, who opened fire. Major Burnaby was struck in the face by a spent bullet, and the rifle-stock of one man of the 51st was smashed. The column having safely crossed, marched for Safed Sung, which was reached on the 15th June; from here, on the 20th, A, C and F Companies went on to Jagdalak.

On the 4th July Headquarters with A, C, F and G Companies 51st, assembled at Pezwan, H Company arriving next day, having had a slight skirmish on the road. On the night of the 4th a force moved out from Pezwan under Colonel Acton, with the object of punishing the villages responsible for recent raiding between Pezwan and Jagdalak, and especially a Ghilzai chief who had established himself at a village near Hissarak, and who had hitherto escaped punishment for his many misdemeanours. The force was composed of 40 sabres 4th Bengal Cavalry, 2 guns Field Artillery, 200 rifles 25th Foot, 196 rifles 51st Light Infantry, and 94 men 31st Punjab Infantry.

As the column neared the offending village, the enemy's look-outs disappeared in the darkness and the neighbouring village of Nargusai was reached at daybreak on the 5th without a shot being fired. Here the Pezwan force was joined by two squadrons of the Carabiniers that had marched from Safed Sung, and shortly after the enemy was found posted in strength on a ridge a little to the east of the village. The western part of the position was rushed by the 25th Foot and very soon the whole ground occupied was cleared. Nargusai and two small villages were burnt, arms and cattle were captured and grain destroyed, and the troops returned having suffered but very trifling loss.

The second phase of the Second Afghan War was now over, and

THE HISTORY OF THE K.O.Y.L.I.

the troops on the Khyber Line were much occupied during July in forwarding back to India the huge accumulations of superfluous stores which had been collected.

On the 8th July the 51st Light Infantry was concentrated at Mandand, and on the 9th August it started thence on its return march to India, arriving at Peshawar on the 23rd August and Lawrencepore on the 2nd September. The following are particulars of strength, casualties, etc.

Strength on crossing the Frontier ..	20 officers, 402 other ranks.
Subsequently joined	9 " 354 " "
Total	29 " 756 " "
Killed	1 officer, 1 other ranks:
Died of disease	0 22 " "
Invalided to England	4 " 3 " "
Invalided to India	4 " 118 " "
Transferred to Depot, etc.	1 " 17 " "
Granted leave on urgent private affairs	1 " "
Total	11 " 161 " "
Strength on re-crossing the Frontier ..	18 officers, 595 other ranks.
Wounded severely	1 " 2 " "
Wounded slightly	4 " 7 " "
Total	5 " 9 " "

For their services in the two phases of the Afghan War the following officers of the 51st Light Infantry were mentioned in despatches.

Colonel S. A. Madden (C.B.).
Colonel C. B. Acton (C.B.).
Major E. B. Burnaby (Bt. Lt.-Colonelcy).
Major R. C. Graeme.
Capt. J. V. Nugent (Bt. Majority).
Capt. C. C. Smyth.
Capt. J. G. Sparke.
Capt. B. H. B. Kennett.
Lieut. H. A. W. Johnson.
Lieut. F. Corbett.
Lieut. P. W. A. Milton.
Lieut. B. E. Spragge.
Lieut. C. H. L. Baskerville.
Lieut. H. A. S. Reid.
Lieut. A. R. Power.

Captain A. S. Wynne served as Superintendent of Army Signalling during the first campaign with the Kurram Valley Field Force, was mentioned in despatches and awarded the brevet of Major.

On the 6th October the 51st Light Infantry marched from Lawrencepoore to Jhelum, which was reached on the 15th, and here it entrained for Umballa, where it arrived on the 18th, remaining until the 15th November. On this date Headquarters and B, D and G Companies under Major Burnaby left by special troop train for Bareilly, arriving on the 17th, and being joined here on the 3rd December by C, E and F Companies under Captain Smyth. A and H Companies proceeded direct from Umballa to Moradabad, where they arrived on the 18th November.

The India Medal of 1854 with clasp "Jowaki, 1877-78," was presented on parade at Bareilly on 6th May, 1881, to the 51st K.O.L.I. by Brigadier-General J. I. Murray, C.B., who was in command of the Rohilcund District.

The issue of the clasp was authorized by G.O. 39, dated Horse Guards, 1st March, 1879.

The following extract from the *London Gazette* of the 7th June, 1881, gives the Battle Honours awarded to the Regiment for its services in the Afghan War: "*The Queen has been graciously pleased to permit the following Regiments to bear the words specified below upon their Standards, Colours, or Appointments respectively in commemoration of their gallant behaviour during the recent campaigns in Afghanistan.* . . .

51st (2nd Yorkshire West Riding) King's Own Light Infantry—
"Ali Musjid"—"Afghanistan, 1878-80."

The year 1881 brought great changes to the 51st Light Infantry, as to every other regiment of the British Army; the old numbers, which all had borne for many years, and under which they had won the Honours which officers and men so dearly prized, were done away with, and for the future the infantry regiments of the Army were to be known only by territorial titles, shared with other battalions with which henceforth they were to be linked. It is true that, as we have seen, the 51st had had some slight connection with the 105th Light Infantry, the depot of which had at one time been attached to the regiment; while when in the latter part of 1873 the Brigade Depot system was established, the 51st and 105th were both attached to the 8th Sub-District at Doncaster. But the two battalions had always been entirely distinct and the officers were not interchangeable.

But now, under Horse Guards General Order No. 41 of this year, the following Army Changes were published for information:

"1. *The following changes in the organisation, titles and uniform of the Regiments of the Line and Militia having been approved, are promulgated for general information; where not otherwise stated they will come into effect on the 1st July, 1881.*

2. *Organisation. The infantry of the Line and Militia will in future*

THE HISTORY OF THE K.O.Y.L.I.

be organised in Territorial Regiments, each of 4 battalions for England, Scotland and Wales, and of 5 battalions in Ireland ; the first and second of these being Line battalions and the remainder Militia. The Regiments will bear a territorial designation corresponding to the localities with which they are connected, and the words " Regimental District " will in future be used instead of " Sub-District " hitherto employed."

The following extract from Appendix I. shows the changes of title for the 51st Light Infantry.

Territorial Regiment: Precedence 49: Titles: " The South Yorkshire Regiment, King's Own Light Infantry."

Composition: 1st Btn. 51st Foot. 2nd Btn.: 105th Foot.
3rd Btn. 1st West York Militia.
4th Btn. (Not yet formed).

Headquarters of Regimental District: Pontefract.

Uniforms: Colour, scarlet. Facings, Blue. Pattern of Lace, Rose.

On the 30th June, 1881, the title of the Territorial Regiment, of which the 51st formed the 1st Battalion, was again changed to the following: " The King's Own Light Infantry (South Yorkshire Regiment); Regimental District No. 51, Pontefract being the Headquarters."

Having traced the history of the 51st from the date of its creation to the period of this great and far-reaching change in its constitution, it is proposed now to record the history of the 105th, now and henceforth to be known as the 2nd Btn. of the King's Own Light Infantry.

